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Field Surveys I

Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement

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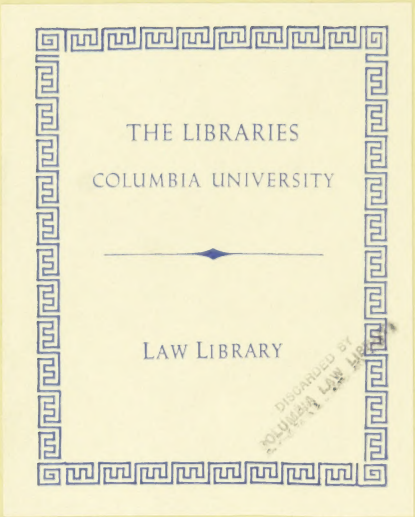
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FIELD SURVEYS I

Report on a Pilot Study In the District of Columbia On Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement

Prepared under a grant by
The Office of Law Enforcement Assistance
United States Department of Justice
to
THE BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, INC.

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A Report of a Research Study Submitted to
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

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REPORT ON A PILOT STUDY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ON VICTIMIZATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW ENFORCEMENT

By

Albert D. Biderman
Louise A. Johnson
Jennie McIntyre
Adrianne W. Weir

President's Commission on Law Enforcement
and Administration of Justice
Field Surveys No. 1

Conducted under Contract LEA 66-2 with the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, U. S. Department of Justice

1967

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The following also had important roles in the project: Sharon Croft, Donald E. Goldstein, Alexander Halpern, Barbara S. Heller, Francine Inman, Richard C. Jones, Barbara H. Kaplan, Samuel B. Lyerly, Patrick McGowan, Ann Richardson, Andrew Rockman, Paul A. Rosenbaum, Joan Stephens, Dwight J. Taylor.

The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan drew the sample used in the present study from data supplied by BSSR. Miss Irene Hess of the University of Michigan supervised this sampling. Several Washington agencies provided useful information for drawing this sample. Of particular importance in this step was the District of Columbia Real Property Data Bank. Miss Joan Jacoby of the data bank was most helpful in our use of its computer tapes to establish the basic universe of addresses from which the sample was drawn.

The present study was coordinated with studies that were being undertaken by the University of Michigan and the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago. Detailed results of the present study will be reported together with those of the Michigan survey. Valuable exchange of ideas have transpired with Professor Albert J. Reiss, Jr.

Dr. Lloyd E. Ohlin of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice has been consistently supportive of our undertaking.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives

The major objective was to conduct a pilot study to design and field test methods to be used in surveys of the public for gaining currently unavailable information regarding the impact and incidence of crime. The study was also directed to employ the data developed in its early phase for substantive information for three Washington, D. C. police precincts on the following topics:

1. Direct experience of persons as victims of crime.

2. Nature of contacts of the public with agencies of law enforcement and the administration of justice.

3. Effects of crime and fear of crime on the lives of citizens.

4. Attitudes of the citizenry affecting respect for the law and cooperation with agencies of control and prevention.

5. The state of public information regarding crime and law enforcement matters.

Among these objectives, primary emphasis has been placed on the first, with a view toward providing bases for estimating the nature and incidence of unreported crimes of victimization.

The Present Report

The present report deals primarily with a survey of residents of three police precincts in the District of Columbia which was carried out in the spring and early summer of 1966.

Experience gained in the initial work of the present study was described in earlier reports. It formed a basis for planning a national survey along similar lines and for surveys of crime victimization as a part of comprehensive studies of law enforcement problems in selected police precincts in Washington and two other cities.

Detailed analyses were completed of interviews with 511 randomly selected adult respondents (18 years old or older) in a sample of households drawn from the three police precincts in the District of Columbia in time for their consideration by the staffs of the President's D. C. and National Crime Commission.

The work in these three precincts provided a basis for substantially improved instruments and procedures. This modified approach was used in a later survey by BSSR of residents of one additional Washington police precinct--the 13th. Identical procedures and instruments were employed by the University of Michigan for independently conducted and reported studies of police precincts in Boston and Chicago. Interviewing was completed in the Washington 13th Precinct in mid-September, 1966. Intensive analyses of these data are being carried out in conjunction with analyses of data from the other cities. These analyses will be published as a joint report of the BSSR and University of Michigan studies. Consequently, the present report deals primarily with the data from the three Washington police precincts surveyed initially. It supplements an earlier Preliminary Technical Report, May 28, 1966, which was made when data were available for the 291 residents first interviewed.

Although the interviewing in the three precincts was completed six months ago and the study planned only a year ago, the 3-precinct study is

in one major respect already obsolete. Its obsolescence stems from the innovational nature of the study and the joint interests the sponsors of the study and we ourselves had in promptly exploiting the methodological lessons learned from this new approach to the study of crime. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II, the modification of procedures which were employed in our supplemental study in the 13th Precinct appear to have tapped respondents' experiences to a markedly greater degree. Data from the subsequent study in the 13th Precinct will be presented here where they have been found to provide either strong confirmation of findings in the 3-precinct survey or where they suggest an important qualification of the earlier work.

D. C. Areas Selected for Study

Police precincts were chosen as sampling and interviewing areas, since the Police Department is composed of precincts as administrative units. It keeps statistics by precinct, and since we wished to make comparisons between offenses reported to the police and actual victimization, the police precincts provided convenient administrative areas in which to do the work. Also, interest was expressed by the D. C. Crime Commission in an exploration of police-community relations, which may vary among precincts. Because of favorable attention that had been given to the police-community relations program in the 14th Precinct, it was included in the study. The use of police precincts was also compatible with the contemplated studies of police precincts to be done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.

With the 14th Precinct selected, we were somewhat limited in choosing the other two precincts for study. The 14th Precinct is in a group of precincts with proportionately low rates of Part I[1] offenses.

[1]Part I offenses include the following: Willful homicide, negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny-theft, [illegible]t.

The other precincts in this group were 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12 whereas precincts 1, 2, 5, 10, and 13 showed higher rates of Part I offenses. Having selected a precinct with lower rates, we wished to include one precinct from the other group. Also, in this study, we were concerned only with individual (or family) victimization, while offense statistics make no distinction between corporate and individual victimization. We wanted, therefore, to select areas that were predominantly residential, so that the crime rate generally would refer to individuals and families, and not to corporate bodies. The 14th Precinct was satisfactory; among the precincts which have proportionately higher crime rates, only the 10th was predominantly residential. Furthermore, it contrasted with the 14th by not having "good" police-community relations efforts. (The other four precincts with high rates also included large commercial and/or industrial areas, which would have complicated the problems of field work.)

The 6th Precinct was selected because it too was predominantly residential and because, like the 14th, it contained whites and Negroes of varying socioeconomic levels. In the aggregate, all three of the precincts had in 1960 roughly similar socioeconomic levels, with the Negro population being of generally higher economic status than in the city's other eleven precincts.

Description of Sample Design[2]

A nonclustered sampling plan was deliberately used to avoid the possibility of chance overrepresentation of certain types of subpopulations

[2]The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan was responsible for the sample selection within the three precincts that were studied. What follows is a description of the sample design based substantially on a memorandum prepared for BSSR by Irene Hess, Head, Sampling Section, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, April 12, 1966.

in these precincts. A disadvantage of this plan is that analyses cannot be made of selected subareas of these precincts.

1. The universe.--The adult population in each of the three precincts formed the universes for which separate estimates were desired.

2. Eligible respondents.--Eligible respondents were any adults--in this case defined as any household member 18 years of age or older. However, in each occupied dwelling unit, only one respondent was randomly selected from among all eligible members of the household. Thus, while all dwelling units within a precinct had equal probability of being included in the sample of addresses drawn, members of the adult population had unequal chances of selection, because the probability of selection varied with the number of adult members of the household.[3]

3. The sampling frame.--In each precinct the sampling frame was a list of residential addresses obtained from the Real Property Data Bank, Government of the District of Columbia. Although the list distinguished between single-family houses and apartment buildings, the number of apartments per building was not included in the data. The Lusk District of Columbia Apartment Directory,[4] and the Polk D. C. City Directory[5] were used to supply this information. In some cases, the list was unspecific as to whether or not the addresses were residential or commercial so interviewers were sent out into the field to check on these "problem addresses." The information they gathered was then relayed to the Survey Research Center and additional sample addresses were drawn from those which proved to be residential.

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[3]See Leslie Kish, Survey Sampling, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965, for a further discussion of the sampling procedure used.

[4]Washington, D. C.: Rufus S. Lusk and Son, Inc., 1966.

[5]Washington, D. C.: R. L. Polk and Company, 1965.

4. The sample size.--For the complete pilot study, approximately 150-200 interviews per precinct were sought. Since response rates and vacancy rates were unknown, however, a decision was made to select about 225-250 dwelling units per precinct, in order to allow the sample to be supplemented, if necessary.

5. Estimates of the universe and calculation of sampling interval.--Based upon 1964 estimates of the population within each precinct, an estimate was made of the number of households that would be found in each precinct. From this information, a sampling interval for each precinct was derived. The sampling interval is used in drawing the sample from the sampling frame. Thus, if the sampling interval were 1:10, every tenth address would be selected, with the first address selected at random between 1 and 10.

For the 6th Precinct, the sampling interval was 1:80, which provided a sample size of 230 street addresses, and an estimate of 232 dwelling units. For the 10th Precinct, the interval was 1:90 with 234 street addresses and an estimated 253 dwelling units. Since the information available for the 14th Precinct, based on population and number of addresses listed, indicated that "unexpected"--that is, unlisted dwelling units--would be found, the sampling interval was 1:100, with 200 street addresses, and 200 plus estimated dwelling units.

6. The sampling procedure.--Within each precinct the following stratification was observed:

a) single-family dwelling addresses;

b) multidwelling addresses thought to have fewer than 15 dwelling units;

c) multidwelling addresses with 15 or more units but fewer than the sampling interval;

d) large apartment structures estimated to have as many or more units than the width of the sampling interval; and

e) within each of these four groups, the census tracts were ordered by the proportion of nonwhite population.

The sample as drawn, and the actual number of occupied dwelling units found, are shown in Table 1. In several instances the listings from the Real Property Data Bank or the apartment and city directories were incorrect so that vacant lots, commercial addresses or an insufficient number of apartments in a building were found. In the other direction, "extra" dwelling units were encountered. In some of these cases buildings had been torn down to make way for new construction or single-family houses had been converted into multidwellings.

TABLE 1-1

OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS IN SAMPLE BY PRECINCT

Street Addresses Drawn	Precincts			Total
	6	10	14	
Single-family houses	162	119	112	393
Multidwelling buildings	68	115	88	271
	230	234	200	664
Estimated number of dwelling units	232	248	200+	680+
Sample adjusted for nonresidential addresses and extra dwelling units	239	274	216	729
Vacant dwelling units	-5	-13	-4	-22
Occupied dwelling units in sample	234	261	212	707

The Instrument

The interview schedule consisted of a basic questionnaire, a cover sheet, incident forms, and a set of ten "crime cards" (see Appendix A). The basic questionnaire included 77 questions plus some information on the respondent's dwelling unit to be filled in by the interviewer after the interview. The cover sheet provided the sample address, respondent selection table, and space for the interviewers to keep a callback record and to note the date and length of the interview. Incident forms, giving detailed information about the offense, were to be completed for each incident mentioned by a respondent. The "crime cards" listed various categories of offenses and were used to aid the respondent in recall. On an average the interviews took about an hour and thirty minutes.

The forms were pretested three time. First, various members of the Bureau who were not working on the study were interviewed and then asked for additional comments and suggestions for revision. Next, actual field interviews were conducted with three successively revised forms before the final schedule was set for interviewing in the three selected precincts. None of the pretest interviews were conducted in the precincts in which the study was subsequently carried out. In addition, a telephone interview, primarily to be used as a prescreening device for those who might have incidents to report, was tested but dropped. Substantially fewer mentions of victimization were recorded in telephone than in face-to-face interviews. Although telephone prescreening devices might be useful with further experimentation, they are limited to a few questions and would not, in this instance, have permitted the attitude questions to be asked. The pretests and their implications for methodology will be discussed in Chapter II.

Interviewing

The interviewers received eight hours of formal instruction, including an item-by-item review of procedures to be followed, and a minimum of eight hours of actual field training (again, precincts other than the three to be studied were used). Each practice interview schedule was then carefully discussed with the interviewers in individual sessions with the field supervisor before any of them were assigned cases drawn from the sample.[6] Interviewing began on April 7, 1966 and continued through July 16.

The respondents were interviewed by 29 interviewers: 21 Negro and 8 white. Negro interviewers were assigned to census tracts and blocks which, according to best current information, were predominantly inhabited by Negroes, and white interviewers to predominantly white areas. This was done to eliminate the need to consider possible effects on the interview of differences in the race of interviewer and respondent. Because of integrated or changing neighborhoods, however, it was not always possible to predict a given respondent's race. Both white and Negro interviewers found respondents of the opposite race and interviewed them, although the number of such cases was small.

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[6] As much time and attention as possible were given to training the interviewers; nevertheless differences between the survey results by precincts discussed in this report must be stated with special caution--particularly, differences between the 14th Precinct and the other two. This is because each interviewer, in the main, was assigned interviews principally in one of the precincts. A sufficient number of the cases was done by just one or two interviewers in a precinct to affect the results significantly and directionally for that precinct, were there a distinctive effect associated with the given interviewer's approach. The contribution of one interviewer may possibly exceed the bounds of chance difference. It would affect 14th Precinct data by contributing to a low precentage of cases reporting recent crime victimization, and by making the data for this precinct approach more closely the distributions for the remaining two with regard to most attitude items. Since such biases, if actually operative, attenuate rather than accentuate most of the patterns on which the major findings stated here are based, the data in question have been retained in the analysis.

Interviewers were assigned specific addresses. On arrival, they introduced themselves as employees of the Bureau of Social Science Research who were working on a crime survey for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. If necessary, the interviewers showed their Bureau identification cards or a letter of introduction signed by the Executive Director of the National Crime Commission. This letter included the Bureau and Crime Commission telephone number for anyone who wanted to verify the interviewers' authenticity, which a few respondents did before agreeing to participate in the survey.

In addresses with one dwelling unit, the interviewers interviewed one respondent. If more than one dwelling unit was found where a single household unit had been expected, a respondent in each of the dwelling units was interviewed.

At each dwelling unit, the interviewers were instructed to interview a respondent preselected by a procedure independent of the judgment of the interviewer. On a cover sheet attached to each blank interview form, the interviewers listed all persons in the household aged 18 or over, in order of their sex and age. In this way, each adult was given a number: the oldest male received #1, the next oldest male #2, and so on, until all males had been assigned numbers; the oldest female was then assigned the next consecutive number, and so forth. The interviewer then referred to a randomized selection table. The table told him which one of the numbered adults to interview in that household.

Since the sample drawn was a probability sample, it was essential to interview only those persons who had been preselected. The interviewers were instructed that on no account were they to make any substitutions.

Repeated efforts were made to contact and to interview the right respondent. Each interviewer was instructed to make call-backs when he was unable to find anyone at home, varying both the day of the week and the time of day. When contact was made at a dwelling, he was to ask any adult who answered the door to enumerate the members of the household so that he could determine who the respondent was to be by the method already described. If the respondent was at home, the interviewer asked to interview him. The purposes of the study were explained to him and he was assured of confidentiality. If the respondent said it was not convenient for him to be interviewed at that time, the interviewer was to make an appointment to return at the earliest possible date.

Some adults who answered the door refused to cooperate with the interviewer in enumerating the members of the household, and some respondents refused to be interviewed. Under these circumstances, the interviewer was instructed not to press the matter too strongly and to leave politely. The address was then reassigned to another interviewer, usually of the opposite sex (many women, for instance, refused to admit a male interviewer into their homes, or wives occasionally balked at women wanting to talk to their husbands). The second interviewer was often successful at turning an initial refusal into a completed interview.

At addresses where no one was found at home, even after 4 or 5 visits, the interviewer left a form letter giving information about the study and requesting that a member of the household contact him by telephone at the Bureau or at his home. Occasionally, this resulted in successful contact with a respondent. Even if there was no response to the letter, interviewers still made several additional call-backs in an effort to find someone at home.

A total of 511 people (72.3% of the sample) were interviewed, with the respondents fairly evenly divided among the 3 precincts. The largest number (183) lived in the 14th Precinct; 173 were from the 10th Precinct, and 155 resided in the 6th Precinct.

As can be seen in Table 2, contact with at least someone in the household occurred in approximately 95 per cent of the cases with less disparity between precincts than for nonresponses over-all. The percentage of nonresponses was the same for both the 6th and 10th Precincts (33.7%) but considerably lower in the 14th Precinct (13.6%). The high percentage of completed interviews in the latter precinct may have been due in considerable measure to the efforts of one interviewer who was adept at persuading people to participate. The 14th Precinct also has fewer high-rise apartment buildings and is characterized by family-type living more than is the case with the other two precincts. The reasons for nonresponse are also shown in Table 2. Outright refusals account for the largest percentage and probably for even more than indicated. It is probable that, among the respondents who failed to keep appointments or who kept saying "come back later," there were those who did not want to be interviewed but would not say so directly.

TABLE 1-2

SAMPLE COMPLETED AND REASONS FOR NONRESPONSE BY PRECINCT

	Precinct						Total 3 Precincts	
	6		10		14			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Completed	155	66.3	173	66.3	183	86.4	511	72.3
Nonresponses	(79)	(33.7)	(88)	(33.7)	(29)	(13.6)	(196)	(27.7)
Contact Made with Someone in Household:								
Refusal	32	13.7	29	11.1	9	4.2	70	9.9
Respondent not available[a]	21	9.0	28	10.7	9	4.2	58	8.2
Miscellaneous[b]	12	5.1	14	5.4	1	.5	27	3.8
No One Ever Home	14	5.9	17	6.5	10	4.7	41	5.8
Total	234	100.0	261	100.0	212	100.0	707	100.0

[a]Either absent or kept saying "come back later"

[b]Respondent too ill or senile, incomplete interview, interviewer errors, etc.

Personal and Social Characteristics of the Respondents

More of the respondents were women (60%) which may reflect the relative ease with which women can be reached at home. The 6th Precinct had the highest proportion of female respondents (63%) while the 10th (58%) and 14th (59%) Precincts were roughly the same.

The great majority (79%) of the respondents were Negroes, although their proportion varied from precinct to precinct--89 per cent in the 14th, 77 per cent in the 10th, and 70 per cent in the 6th. With the exception of the 6th Precinct, the proportion of Negroes in the respondent group corresponds fairly well with the 1963 estimated figures[7] for the precinct populations. For the 6th Precinct, however, there were approximately 18 per cent more Negroes in the respondent group than were estimated as residing in the precinct three years earlier. There has been very rapid in-migration in the 6th Precinct in recent years, however, and it can be presumed that this accounts for a large measure of the difference, although how much is, of course, unknown.

A far higher proportion of the white respondents were women than was the case with the Negro respondents; 72 per cent of the whites as compared to 57 per cent of the Negroes. Nevertheless, almost half (46%) of the respondent group consists of Negro women. A little over a third (35%) were Negro men. Only 5 per cent were white men while 14 per cent were white women.

The respondents were a relatively mature group: a fifth were 56 years or older, almost two-thirds were over 35, and a fifth were between the ages of 26 and 35. The 14th Precinct respondents tended to be slightly younger as a group (15% over 56 years old contrasted, for example, with 24% over 56 for the 6th Precinct). Nevertheless, none of the precincts had more than 6 per cent in the lowest age range--18 to 20.

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[7]Government of the District of Columbia, Office of Civil Defense. Resident Population, District of Columbia, July 1, 1963. Prepared by Elisabeth Nagy under the administration of the National Capital Planning Commission.

The respondents were relatively well-educated. Almost two-thirds were high school graduates. Among the precincts, from 23 per cent (14th) to 36 per cent (6th) of the respondents had had at least some college work. The 6th Precinct group had a noticeably higher proportion of college graduates (23%) and considerably fewer respondents who failed to graduate from high school (30%). While approximately the same number (37-38%) of the respondents in the 14th and 10th Precincts did not graduate from high school, only about half as many of those in the 14th Precinct were college graduates.

The respondents' jobs generally reflected this educational level. Discounting the 26 per cent who were not in the labor force (housewives, retired, students, etc.), four-fifths had white-collar or service occupations. The largest group were clerical workers (27%), followed by those in service occupations (26%). The 6th Precinct respondents, as expected, reported occupations at higher levels than those in the other two precincts. At the highest level--professional, technical, and managerial occupations--45 per cent of the jobs were held by those in the 6th Precinct. Of the blue-collar workers, 49 per cent of the jobs were held by those in the 14th Precinct. Clerical workers were more evenly distributed among the 3 precincts with somewhat more in the 14th Precinct than in the other two. Surprisingly, only 32 per cent of the employed respondents worked for the government; the District average is 50 per cent. The largest group (44%) were in sales and consumer services.

Approximately 12 per cent of all the respondents were housewives; 4 per cent were students; 9 per cent were retired; less than 2 per cent were unemployed. The 14th Precinct had the highest proportion of housewives

(18%), while the 6th Precinct, by a very small margin, had the highest proportion of students.

The respondent group as a whole appeared to be quite stable residentially, with many who had lived at the address at which they were interviewed for six years or more. The respondents in the 14th Precinct appeared to be the most stable--22 per cent had lived there 16 or more years, 50 per cent had been there 6 or more years. At the same time, however, a sizable minority (34%) of all the respondents had lived at the most recent address less than two years. This was particularly prevalent in the 10th Precinct which 40 per cent of the respondents had inhabited for two years or less. This is probably partially accounted for by the 5 per cent of the respondents in the 10th Precinct who were students, but probably also reflects recent immigration to the area of many people displaced from other parts of the city. Some of these may be chronic wanderers, but most appear to have been basically stable residentially--83 per cent of them reported that their previous addresses were in the District and an additional 4 per cent had lived in the Washington suburbs.

Residential stability is further borne out by the length of time the respondents reported living at any one address since 1950. Of all respondents, 53 per cent had lived at one address 10 or more years since 1950; only 3 per cent reported living at one address for less than three years. Once again, the 14th Precinct respondents indicated a high pattern of stability--60 per cent had remained at one address for 10 or more years since 1950. And 50 per cent of the 10th Precinct respondents reported a similar length of time.

As a group, the respondents were predominantly urban; most had lived primarily in big cities since 1950; most (76%) had, in fact, lived in the District. Only 9 per cent had lived in small towns or rural places. Among those who had lived somewhere other than Washington since 1950, those in the 6th and 10th Precincts tended more often to come from other large cities than had those in the 14th Precinct who somewhat more often came from smaller towns or rural places. (This should be treated with caution, however, since the magnitudes involved are small.)

The mean number of people per household was somewhat higher than for the District as a whole. The mean size for the respondent group was 3.2 while the mean for the District is 2.9. The average number of adults per household was 2.2. The mean number of children (17 years or under) was 1; over half (56%) of the respondent households had no children at all. Of those who did, the average was 2.3 children per household.

While the 3 precincts were fairly evenly divided with respect to the number of people per household, the composition of the households varied somewhat. In the 10th Precinct, 18 per cent of the respondents lived alone, while in the 14th Precinct only 9 per cent did. The average number of children per household was highest in the 14th Precinct, but if households having no children are exluded, the largest number of children per household was in the 10th Precinct.

The Representativeness of the Sample

The 3 precincts included in the study were not selected because they were representative of the District's population as a whole, but for reasons outlined earlier. Consequently, one cannot generalize the results from these precincts to the District as a whole.

Earlier, data were presented indicating close accord of the sample to intercensal estimates of the racial composition of the precincts. Tables 1-3 and 1-4 compare some additional characteristics of the sample in each precinct with material available on the precinct populations from the 1960 Census.[8] Table 1-3 compares the characteristics for nonwhites and Table 1-4 for whites. This comparison shows some notable differences. However, it must be kept in mind that six years have intervened between the Census and the survey, so that some of the discrepancies may not be as large as they appear. For example, income can be presumed to have increased somewhat, and higher percentages of the population of each precinct are Negro.

Home ownership is one of the variables selected for comparison. As can be seen, the percentages of homeowners differ somewhat for whites and nonwhites. In the 6th Precinct, the percentage of whites who own is almost identical for Census and survey while the percentage of nonwhite owners among the respondents is much lower than that shown by Census figures. The 10th and 14th Precincts show a different pattern: the percentage of white homeowners is considerably higher than that shown by the 1960 Census, while the percentage of nonwhites is very similar.

The median value of the houses owned by the whites in the 6th Precinct was higher among respondents than was shown in 1960 Census estimations. This and higher median values shown by all other respondents, with the exception of whites in the 14th Precinct, is expected in view of rising market values in the six intervening years.

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[8] U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960 Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-166. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.

TABLE 1-3

COMPARISON BETWEEN SELECTED VARIABLES FROM SAMPLE SURVEY AND 1960 CENSUS BY PRECINCT, NONWHITE ONLY (N=411)

Variables	Precincts					
	6th		10th		14th	
	Sample	1960 Census	Sample	1960 Census	Sample	1960 Census
Home ownership (in %)	60.0	72.0	33.0	36.0	41.0	40.0
Median value of house, median $	18,900	15,800	16,500	14,300	16,600	12,700
Rental occupied (in %)	40.0	28.0	67.0	64.0	59.0	60.0
Monthly rent median $	100	99	90	79	93	77
Education of those 25 years and older, median years	12.6	12.0	12.0	10.3	12.1	10.7
Same residence 5-6 or more years (in %)[a]	38.5	21.7	34.3	38.6	47.3	42.8
Median income of head, median $	5,900	7,200[b]	5,100	4,900[b]	5,800	5,000[b]

[a]The Census uses a 5-year figure, going back to 1955 and includes all persons 5 years and over, whereas the survey used a 6-year figure for respondents (who were 18 and over).

[b]The Census represents total family income, while the survey data are based on the income of the head only.

TABLE 1-4

COMPARISON BETWEEN SELECTED VARIABLES FROM SAMPLE SURVEY AND 1960 CENSUS BY PRECINCT, WHITE ONLY (N=100)

Variables	Precincts					
	6th		10th		14th	
	Sample	1960 Census	Sample	1960 Census	Sample	1960 Census
Home ownership (in %)	47.0	46.0	36.0	19.0	44.0	34.0
Median value of house, median $	22,500	17,500	17,200	14,900	10,000	13,700
Rental occupied (in %)	53.0	54.0	64.0	81.0	56.0	66.0
Monthly rent, median $	95	93	98	86	108	75
Education of those 25 years and older, median years	12.0	12.2	12.0	12.4	12.4	11.0
Same residence 5-6 or more years (in %)[a]	52.2	52.0	50.0	47.0	78.0	50.0
Median income of head, median $	6,700	7,600[b]	6,400	6,300[b]	6,900	6,700[b]

[a]The Census uses a 5-year figure, going back to 1955 and includes all persons 5 years and over, whereas survey used a 6-year figure for respondents (who were 18 years and over).

[b]The Census represents total family income, while the survey data are based on the income of the head only.

Respondents who rent follow the reverse pattern of that shown for ownership, if course. But the median rents are in all cases higher, although in some cases by very little. The largest discrepancy is in the 14th Precinct: white respondents were paying $108 per month whereas the 1960 Census showed the median rent to be $75.

Another variable used for comparison was education of those 25 years and older. Generally, the comparison would indicate that the respondents were somewhat better educated than other residents in the 3 precincts with one exception--in the 10th Precinct, the median number of years of education for white respondents was 12.0 as compared with the 1960 Census median for that precinct, 12.4.

The respondents would also appear to be more residentially stable than the populations. The stable residence defined as 5 years or more at the same address, precinct samples had from .2 to 18 per cent more stable residents than the population data. Again, 10th Precinct nonwhite respondents were the exception, being less stable residentially than expected.

The last variable compared was median income. The survey asked for the income of only the household head (or of the respondent if there was no head of household), whereas Census figures include total family income. Nevertheless, the median incomes for both nonwhite and white respondents in the 10th and 14th Precincts were higher than those shown by the 1960 Census. The median incomes shown for 6th Precinct respondents were lower than the Census figures for both nonwhites and whites, although the discrepancy was greater for nonwhite respondents.

On the whole then, the respondents were generally of a higher socioeconomic status than would have been expected from 1960 Census figures. Chapter II discusses some of the differences between those reporting few or no incidents and those reporting several. Some of the same characteristics which pertain to people who report at length may apply also to those people willing to answer questions about crime in general. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain how much of the discrepancy is due to sampling error, nonresponses from certain segments of the population, or changes in the census tracts since the 1960 Census was taken.

Analysis

After the completed interviews were edited and coded, IBM cards were prepared for each interview, and standard computer techniques used to obtain totals and various cross tabulations for the items.

In addition to the general coding, several indices were developed to gauge attitudes toward the police and fear of crime. These will be discussed further in Chapter III.

Police in the News

Police and crime are always major news copy. During the period that the interviewing was in progress, a number of particularly attention-getting stories broke that might have influenced the data. Those stories that appear most likely to have affected the immediate expressions of attitude by the subjects were:

1. several developments involving alleged criminal involvements of members of the Metropolitan Police Department with a professional burglar, which have led to suspensions from the force;

2. the killing of a young policeman during the attempted apprehension of a fleeing bank robber;

3. the Glen Echo Amusement Park affair, called variously a "riot" or "disturbance"; and

4. the report of the Complaint Review Board to the District of Columbia Commissioners.

It is difficult to measure what effects, if any, these incidents may have had on the responses in the interviews. A more complete listing of major crime news items during the period is contained in Appendix E.

The 13th Precinct

As indicated earlier, one of the purposes of the BSSR study was to design and field test methods for further studies of crime victimization. On the basis of the work in the 6th, 10th and 14th Precincts, the questionnaire was revised somewhat in June 1966 for use by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in a survey of four police precincts in Chicago and Boston. At that time, a decision was made to do additional interviews in a fourth precinct in Washington with the revised interview schedule so as to ensure some comparability between the BSSR experience and the SRC data. For several reasons, the 13th Precinct was chosen as the additional precinct. An important consideration was having the additional Washington precinct be similar to those in which SRC planned to interview in Boston and Chicago. The 13th Precinct respondents

were of the same generally low socioeconomic status, the incidence of crime was similar, and the residential/commercial mix was approximately the same. One section of the precinct which is comprised of upper-class, diplomatic and Cabinet-level residents was excluded so as not to destroy its comparability.

The interviewing was conducted from July 28 to October 1966. The sample selection, interviewing procedure and interviewer training methods were essentially the same as for the first 3 precincts. As the portion of the 13th Precinct which was used for interviewing was predominantly Negro, the tracts did not need to be ordered by proportions of the nonwhite population. An estimated 300 sample addresses were drawn. The only other difference in the sampling was that it was necessary to supplement the sample by 75 addresses; the same sampling frame was used and the interval was adjusted to provide the smaller number of addresses.

A number of high-rise, security apartment buildings presented a problem in that the management refused to permit the interviewers to have access. In several of these cases, the field supervisor was able to explain the purposes of the project and thereby to gain the cooperation of the building managers. In two cases, however, repeated telephone conversations and letters did not secure compliance so the city directory was used to enumerate the apartments. In this way the apartments designated by the sample selection procedure were identified and the city directory was again used to provide the names of the residents. They were contacted by phone and in most cases agreed to participate as respondents.

The revised questionnaire included additional questions about attitudes toward being questioned by the police and under what circumstances it was deemed proper; respondents' feelings about demonstrations and how the police "handle matters that may come up" during them; and whether or not public opinion has changed about the police in recent years. A large number of the questions were open-ended rather than just requiring a check next to the appropriate, precoded responses. During the training period and the initial sample interviews, it became increasingly obvious that the interviews with some respondents were excessively time-consuming. One took five hours to complete and most were running roughly three hours. A decision was made to use two different forms--each containing duplicate core questions about victimization experiences, attitude items which had previously been found to have sufficient variance in responses to serve as scale items and, of course, general demographic questions. The other questions were split between the two forms and the interviewers were instructed to use Form A when interviewing respondents with even sample identification numbers and Form B with the others. In this way, randomness should have given approximately an even distribution between the two without any decision to be made by the interviewers as to which respondents should be asked which questions.

A total of 283 respondents were interviewed in the 13th Precinct. Of these, 223 were nonwhites and 60 were whites.

The coding and extensive tabulation of data have been completed. Interpretation and writing of results are being performed in coordination with analyses of the data from the other cities. References will be made in Chapters II and III to data that are relevant to the findings based on the interviews in the first three precincts.

CHAPTER II

INCIDENCE OF CRIME VICTIMIZATION

A. The Survey Approach

Need for an Independent Indicator

The primary effort in this study has been directed to forming estimates of the frequency with which residents of these precincts are victims of criminal offenses. The basic rationale for undertaking this work was set forth in September 1965 in a memorandum from the principal investigator to the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia:

> Criminological studies have largely developed their data from law enforcement, correctional, and judicial agencies, and from persons arrested or jailed. The only consequential exception to this are studies using high school and college students as subjects or respondents. As a consequence, there is a vast terra incognita in our knowledge of crime. Consider, for example, the accepted proposition that "offenses known to the police" are the "best" measure of crime because these are the data "closest to the commission of the crime." Insofar as offenses of victimization are concerned, it would seem that data developed directly from questioning the public would be "closer" to the crime and, for at least many classes of offenses, would suffer less from errors of underenumeration than data derived from reports to the police and crimes known directly to the police.
>
> Some theorists go so far as to assert that "crime" should be defined to refer to relationships between those committing certain acts and agencies of justice if the concept is to accord realistically with the data used in its study. With the exception of certain types of crimes such as bank robberies, murders, and automobile thefts which are not highly subject to nonreporting, even the best data currently used are suspected of only reflecting the pinnacle of the iceberg of acts occurring in the community that are, in either a legal or sociological sense, crimes.

> One method of reconnoitering some of the base of the iceberg has yet to be employed in the U. S. This would involve questioning a large statistical sample of the population about direct experience with crime during a given time period. While this method would be subject to various types of inadequacies and errors of reporting--notably, insofar as crimes of self- and mutual-victimization and those in which the victim is an impersonal entity are concerned--it would nonetheless represent an enormous supplementation of existing knowledge of the extent of criminal behavior. However consequential the omissions and distortions of the images of the relevant phenomena that might be involved in the application of this method, they would in any event be different ones than those of the traditionally applied methods. As in many other problems of scientific observation, the use of approaches and apparatuses with different error properties has been a means of approaching truer approximations of phenomena that are difficult to measure.

Quite apart from the many published technical criticisms of currently used crime statistics, it was felt to be particularly essential, in view of the innovational law enforcement programs being contemplated, to develop some information regarding the incidence of crime that was independent of reports of citizens to the police. This is the case because some of the improvements in law enforcement may have the incidental consequence of increasing the number of crimes known to the police and hence estimates of the crime rate for an area, while actually these measures may reduce the occurrence of crime. A possible effect of this type can readily be discerned in the area of police-community relations. Where many of the citizens are hostile toward or fearful of the police, presumably they are reluctant to deal with them except when necessary. Under such circumstances, many crimes would go unreported. As police come to enjoy greater confidence and respect, a citizen is more likely to see some possible benefit, and certainly no harm, in reporting to the police when he is victimized.

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More direct effects of improved police practices on crime statistics have been noted in cities such as New York and Chicago. In these cities, instituting a more professional attitude toward crime statistics resulted in elevating reported crime rates.

Heightened salience to the crime problem attendant to well publicized reform measures can also produce spurious elevations of the crime rate. For example the individual citizen's greater concern with the possibility of being victimized may lead to more widespread purchases of theft and burglary insurance. The need to make a report to the police in order to establish a claim for loss provides the covered citizen with a reason for reporting an incident to the police where he otherwise might regard doing so as completely pointless.

If the success of measures for curtailing crime are to be assessed independently of such factors that affect reports to the police, then some measure independent of reports to the police is needed. It was to explore the feasibility of using surveys of random samples of the public to provide such a measure that the present study was primarily directed.

Survey Approach to Victimization

In Precincts 6, 10 and 14, we successfully interviewed 511 people, each of whom were randomly selected members of households which, in turn, were selected from all households in these precincts by a probability sampling procedure.

Each of these citizens was asked a series of questions to determine if he or any other member of his household had been a victim of a crime in recent months (see Chapter I and Appendix D). To provide a base

point that would conveniently anchor the respondents' recollections for a given recent time period, respondents were asked to report instances of victimization that had occurred since New Year's Day, 1965. A series of cards listing specific types of offenses was handed the respondent. Each specific type offense on each card was read orally by the interviewer while the respondent inspected the card and answered either "Yes" or "No" with regard to:

1. whether he personally had been a victim of that type of crime during the period since January 1965;

He was then asked to go through the card series again and to state, for each card:

2. whether any member of his household had been victimized by that type of crime;

Next, he was asked to describe:

3. the "very worst crime" that had ever happened to him;

And finally, he was asked about:

4. the "very worst crime" that had ever happened to anyone currently living with him.

Distinctions among these four categories of victimization figure prominently in the analysis to be presented here.

Each time the respondent mentioned an incident of victimization, the interviewer immediately asked a series of questions about details of the offense and completed the "Incident Form." (See blue form in Appendix D.) This included a general description of the incident; information on the victims; injuries and property losses; various details of the place, circumstances, and means of the offense; reporting or nonreporting to the police; action subsequent to the offense by the police or others; and known characteristics of the offenders.

The informants in the three precincts described 443 incidents in response to these four sets of probes that met the survey's definitions of crimes that had victimized the respondent or his household.

The procedure described above involves some modifications of that initially employed in our pretesting.

Revision of Initial Operating Assumptions

Certain initial assumptions which guided the methodological planning were revised through experience in the extensive pretesting undertaken to evaluate alternative approaches to developing reports of incidents of victimization in a cross-sectional survey.

Prevalence.--First, it was assumed that statistics of crimes known to police, while subject to a considerable degree of underreporting, nonetheless provided a basis for estimating the general order of magnitude of significant incidents occurring among the population. Using a variety of considerations for estimating the presence of victims among the population from police data, the operating assumption was that about 10 per cent of the population would be victimized in a given year. Therefore, to develop data on a sufficient number of incidents for statistical analysis, even with a fairly large sample, it was assumed that it would be necessary to attempt to gain reports from respondents covering a considerable time span. Our initial interviewing, however, produced reports for recent periods at almost four times the rate originally anticipated. This rate of reporting held approximately constant through the entire period of interviewing.

Our respondents reported 195 instances in which they or their entire household had been victimized by a crime which occurred during the 12-month period immediately preceding the initiation of the survey. This is a victimization rate of approximately 38 incidents per 100 persons per year. For what this gross figure may be worth, crudely projected it means that the average mature resident of these three police precincts would be a victim of a crime once every 32 months.

Salience and recency.--Another assumption guiding our planning was that victimization would be a very salient event in a person's life. Thus, there was some confidence that a respondent would easily be able to recall over a considerable period of time instances in which he had been a crime victim.

In practice, most respondents seemed to find it difficult to remember incidents of victimization other than recent cases. Test interviewing, which used members of the research team and of the research organization as subjects, was particularly instructive (see Report No. 2). In each case, these people reported hours, days, and even weeks later that incidents they had not remembered at the time they were interviewed had come to mind subsequently. When sufficient pretest cases had been collected for statistical analysis, such a sharp decreasing gradient with time was found as could only reasonably be explained by very pronounced tendencies to recall readily only relatively recent events.

Reporting on other members.--The earliest planning for the survey assumed, furthermore, that a member of a family would be able to report extensively on crimes that had happened to those living with him, insofar

as the crimes involved were not of the kind that members of a family are motivated to keep secret from one another.

Considering the number of persons per household (the mean was approximately 3.2 persons--2.2 persons if only those over 17 years of age are considered), many more of the incidents which involved only one person should have been offenses against some other member of the household rather than the respondent. In actuality, respondents far more frequently spoke of offenses of which they themselves were victims. In addition, we found fewer cases than we expected of multiple victimization occurring to the same respondent.

Seriousness.--A fourth assumption was that respondents would report a high proportion of very trivial incidents--crimes often too minor in their eyes to be worth reporting to the police. It was also assumed that certain kinds of more serious victimization might not be reported in interviews because of reticence regarding incidents in which some contributory behavior of the victim might have been involved or which in some other way was embarrassing to him. A high number of minor incidents was also expected in that the interviewing procedure encouraged the reporting of even the most trivial occurrences. This was done because we wished to have the survey data supplement as extensively as possible those data available to the police. The interviewers defined a "crime" for the respondent as "anything somebody could be sent to prison or fined for doing to you--or even for trying to do it." The large inventory of types of crimes which was employed in questioning the sample included a great number of minor offenses. (See yellow "Flash

Cards" in Appendix D.) While a direct comparison with police data cannot readily be made, a high proportion of the incidents reported in the survey were quite consequential ones.

Definitions of the Uniform Crime Reporting[1] classification system for offenses were employed for the present study. Larcenies were also tabulated with a division at $100 to provide comparability with categories used by the Washington Metropolitan Police. The same classes of incidents most frequently mentioned by respondents in our survey are also those that figure most frequently in police statistics for classes that include victim offenses for the entire city[2] (see Table 2-1). The major exceptions are malicious destruction of property which, in rank order, is the third most fequently mentioned crime in our survey, but which is not among the most common in police statistics; and auto thefts, which are not mentioned frequently by our respondents. Some of the Part II categories of the police report include nonvictim offenses. If we consider Part I offense classes only, the same rank order is found both in the police statistics and in our data. Larcenies, considering petty and grand larcenies together, are the most common crime in both sets of data, and burglaries are the next most frequent class. Among Uniform Crime Index crimes, which consider only larcenies above $50 in value, burglaries are by far the most frequent class in the survey data, as in police statistics for Washington or for the entire nation.

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[1] Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook (Washington, D. C.: Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, February 1965).

[2] Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C. Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1965.

TABLE 2-1

OFFENSE CLASSES IN SURVEY AND POLICE DATA PRECINCTS 6, 10 AND 14

Class of Offense	Incidents Mentioned by Survey Respondents		Actual Offenses Known	
	N	%	N	%
Part I:				
Criminal homicide	31	*	1	*
Rape	46	*	4	1
Robbery	1,082	11	35	8
Aggravated assault	457	5	20	4
Burglary	2,174	22	110	25
Larceny	1,832	18	116	26
Auto theft	1,381	14	21	5
Part II:				
Other assaults	675	7	30	7
Arson, vandalism	112	1	47	10
Fraud, forgery, embezzlement	143	1	8	2
Other sex offenses	48	*	12	3
Offense against family	3	*	-	-
All other offenses	2,009	20	39	9
Total	9,993	100	443	100

*Less than 1%.

Police statistics tended to have a somewhat higher percentage of all offenses in the more serious crime classes than was the case with incidents mentioned by survey respondents. The differences, however, were not as great as anticipated. If we exclude those classes of offense that do not involve victimization of individual citizens or households from police statistics, about 77 per cent of actual offenses reported are Part I classes. About 62 per cent of the crimes against members of our sample involved Part I offenses. The major discrepancy was the much more prominent role of vandalism in the survey reports than in actual offenses reported to the police. Among the Part I offenses, however, the incidents in the survey were relatively more concentrated in the offenses against property than in those against persons, as compared with the police distribution.

Largely because of the prominence of burglaries and Index larcenies ($50 or over) in our incident descriptions, the majority of cases (54%) involved Index crimes. Further, if the values of loss given by our respondents can be accepted, a higher proportion of thefts involved losses of $100 or more than was the case with police data. The value of lost property is another indicator of the seriousness of the incidents reported by members of the sample. The distribution of such losses for offenses involving larceny is given in Table 2-2.

About 17 per cent of the offenses were classified as attempts. As another measure of seriousness, the scoring system developed by Sellin and Wolfgang for their study of juvenile offenses in Philadelphia[3] was applied to incidents reported in the present survey.

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[3]Sellin, Thorsten, and Wolfgang, Marvin E. The Measurement of Delinquency, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964.

TABLE 2-2

LARCENY LOSS BY CLASS OF INCIDENT--3-PRECINCT SURVEY

Amount	Burglary	Theft	Robbery	Auto Theft	Total
Under $20	11	29	12	-	52
$20 - $49.99	9	25	5	-	39
$50 - $99.99	11	20	4	1	36
$100 - $159.99	13	1	6	1	21
$160 - $319.99	16	8	-	2	26
$320 - $639.99	14	1	-	1	16
$640 - $1279.99	3	2	-	5	10
$1300 - $2599.99	2	-	-	4	6
$2600 and over	-	-	1	3	4
Amount not specified	2	3	2	2	9
Total	81	89	30	19	219

It was possible to score 81 per cent of the incidents with the information given by the respondents. The distribution of scores for all incidents is given in Table 2-3. Illustrations of the kinds of offenses at each level of score are given in Appendix F.

TABLE 2-3

DISTRIBUTION OF SERIOUSNESS SCORES
FOR INCIDENTS REPORTED
IN 3-PRECINCT SURVEY

Score	N
1	56
2	144
3	70
4	55
5-6	15
7-9	14
10+	6
Cannot be classified	83
Total	443

The score weights given by Sellin and Wolfgang were developed by extensive ratings of illustrative descriptions of offenses by several varied panels of judges. Although the work of validation and reliability testing on which their system rests involves somewhat different universes of acts and judgments than that involved in the present study, it was the most directly applicable of systems for judging the seriousness of victimization that, to our knowledge, was currently available. It was found readily applicable to the large majority of our cases. The ratings take into consideration the class of offense, the value of property damaged or stolen, personal injury to victims and the number of victims affected.

The offenses reported by the citizens in these precincts had approximately the same range and mean of scores as those in the arrest records used by Sellin and Wolfgang in developing their measure. The numbers of cases in comparable crime classifications were too small in

all but three categories to make meaningful comparisons by class. The mean seriousness scores for the classes for which comparisons could be made were identical for incidents in the present study and those reported by Sellin and Wolfgang, however.

General interpretation.--Each of the modifications of our original expectations that followed from examination of our results suggested that the interviewing procedure we were using underenumerates incidents that fall within our broad definition of crimes victimizing citizens. In summary, these observations included:

1. the preponderance of fairly serious incidents among those mentioned and the relatively infrequent mention of minor thefts and destructive acts of delinquents--types of victimization one might assume to be more prevalent in actuality;

2. the heavy concentration of incidents in the very recent periods;

3. the relatively few incidents involving other members of the household reported;

4. as will be shown later, a suspiciously high proportion of the respondents mentioned just one incident of victimization, as compared with none or more than one.

One reason for the undernumeration, apparently, is that respondents usually can recall minor and older incidents only with difficulty. A second reason, confirmed by the revised procedure that has been employed in the later survey in the 13th Precinct, is that the interview failed to manipulate the motivations of respondents in such a way as to maximize reporting.

Other Methodological Considerations

Fabrication.--While there may be occasional fabrication among the respondents, our interviewers suspect that they are more frequently faced with respondents who are reticent about what has happened to them than by those who may be concocting a story. (Less than 3 per cent of all incidents and only 6 per cent of the nonproperty offenses were said to have been committed by a family member or relative.) Only a very few of the incidents reported are of the type that read as if they might be falsely founded grievances against another party. A very few incidents may possibly be of the type of intrafamilial deception where one member uses a story of theft to cover his misuse of family funds or property. (Our interviewers were instructed to gain as much privacy as possible from other members of the household when conducting interviews.) Similarly, as in the case with some reports to the police, what is reported as larceny may sometimes actually be an attempt at insurance fraud by a pretended victim. Despite assurances of anonymity and the interviewer's credentials, a respondent who fears the interview may be an attempt to check on him may give the interviewer the same lie as he gave his insurance company or the police. Exceedingly few of the incidents reported to us, however, involved any indemnification from insurance--about 9 per cent of the cases.

Total lifetime experience.--A casualty of the pretest experience with the survey procedure was the hope that the retrospections of respondents might be useful for estimates of total lifetime victimization (See Report No. 2). While theoretically it should be possible to develop information from an individual concerning every significant incident of crime victimization from late childhood onward, practically we have found this to be most difficult.

Nonetheless, since it was felt desirable for the purpose of our study to have some measure for each respondent of his experience as a victim of crime as it may have affected his attitude and behavior toward the crime problem, the 3-precinct study included the question: "Now thinking back over your entire life, what would you say was the worst crime that has ever happened to you--the very worst thing in all your life?"

Were the responses to this question to be accepted at their face value, one would conclude that crime was a very recent invention. Of the 260 incidents of victimization described by our respondents as the worst (or only one) in their lives, only 108 happened three years ago or more and only 60 six or more. Events of the previous 18 months accounted for many more of those incidents called "worst ever" than all recalled experiences of more than 5 years ago.

An early experiment using members of the research organization as interview subjects indicates that respondents have to do a great deal of thinking and slow reflection before they can remember even fairly serious crimes of which they were victims some time ago--even when these older incidents are far more consequential than recent ones. It might be feasible to pursue the interview technique for developing older experiences with subjects who would be available for lengthy and repeated interviewing concentrated on the topic.

The interviewing method we used in the survey, however, clearly fails to tap old experience to any great extent through this "worst ever" question. The fact that interviewees did usually give a fairly recent incident, if any at all, when asked this question is indicative of the apparent recession in consciousness of victimization experience.

Together with other data in our survey, this observation has a significance for an understanding of the impact of experience on public attitudes that we may convey by twisting slightly a common phrase: "What have they done to me lately."

A conclusion of our methodological work is that the memories of our respondents preclude the use of data from our survey for conclusions about trends in crime incidence, either over the long run or the short run. A series of surveys using identical approaches over time, however, could be usefully employed for this purpose.

We cannot rule out completely the possibility that increases in the actual incidence of victimization may have contributed to a greater number of reports for the most recent periods than for older ones. As most dramatically evidenced by the incompletely analyzed data for the 13th Precinct which used a different procedure for eliciting reports of victimization, however, the differences which follow from different methodological treatments are of a far greater order of magnitude than can reasonably characterize short-run or local variations in actual prevalence of crime.

It is nonetheless a most important observation that over 40 per cent of the citizens interviewed in this survey claim that neither they nor any member of their household have ever been victim of a crime--not even one of the most minor sort. The entire lifetime experience of all 511 respondents, according to their reports, involved only 66 crimes of violence, including simple assaults and robberies. Since the average age of the respondents was about 42 years, the answers suggest that violent crime is an uncommon event in the life history.

Victimization Reporting in the Three Precincts

With respect to recency effects, none of the devices we attempted could overcome this tendency completely, although our final results using modified procedures had much less pronounced time gradients than did those from the initial pretest procedures. Nonetheless, the large majority of the incidents reported represented recent periods (see Table 2-4).

TABLE 2-4

DATES OF INCIDENTS OF VICTIMIZATION FOR PRECINCTS 6, 10, 14
(ALL 444 INCIDENTS REPORTED BY 511 RESPONDENTS)

Time Period	Number	Per Cent	Cumulative Per Cent
April to July, 1966[a]	43	10	10
January to March, 1966	53	12	22
October to December, 1965	61	13	35
July to September, 1965	36	8	43
April to June, 1965	41	9	52
January to March, 1965	26	6	58
Other 1965-1966, date not specific	26	6	64
October to December, 1964	4	1	65
July to September, 1964	9	2	67
April to June, 1964	12	3	70
3 to 5 years ago	63	14	84
6 or more years ago	70	16	100
Total	444	100	

[a]Interviews in progress during this entire interval.

The same tendency is noted even when only the least recent incident of victimization reported by each respondent is considered alone (see Table 2-5).

TABLE 2-5

DATE OF LEAST RECENT INCIDENT MENTIONED BY EACH RESPONDENT

Time Period	Number	Per Cent	Cumulative Per Cent
April to July, 1966[a]	23	7	7
March to January 1966	34	10	17
October to December, 1965	38	11	28
July to September, 1965	22	7	35
April to June, 1965	27	8	43
January to March, 1965	19	6	49
1965 or 1966, no specific date	14	4	53
October to December, 1964	4	1	54
July to September, 1964	9	3	57
April to June, 1964	12	3	60
3 to 5 years ago	63	19	79
6 or more years ago	70	21	100
No information	1	*	100
Total	335	100	

*Less than 1%.

[a] Interviews in progress during this entire interval.

To a degree, both recency and the concentration of responses on incidents directly involving the self were effects of the questioning pattern.

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Effects of the Question Pattern

Question order conceivably could have influenced these results. Of the 444 incidents of victimization mentioned by our respondents, 2 per cent were mentioned before the interviewer questioned the respondent about victimization at all; another 2 per cent were only recalled later in the interview after the interviewer had completed questioning the respondent about victimization (see Table 2-6).

TABLE 2-6

INCIDENTS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENT AT SUCCESSIVE POINTS IN THE INTERVIEW

Mentioned at Interview Schedule Question Number:	Number of Incidents	Per Cent
7 or earlier (before questions on victimization)	10	2
8 (Series about "Recent-self")	221	53
9 (Series about "Recent-Other Member of Household")	40	9
10 (Worst Ever--self)	105	25
11 (Worst Ever--Other Member of Household)	36	9
12 ("Serious Injury to Relative or Friend") or later in the interview	7	2
Total identified	419	100
No information	25	
Total incidents	444	

Three fourths of the incidents were mentioned when the respondent was asked the questions about things that had happened to him personally (Questions 8 and 10 of the schedule in Appendix D). More than twice

as many reports of incidents were elicited by the question dealing with very recent victimization of the respondent--since January 1965 (Question 8)--than that asking for the worst crime in the victim's experience (Question 10).

When asking about other members of the household, however, the two types of questions each yielded equal numbers of incident descriptions. About the same number of incidents dealing with others was mentioned when the respondent was asked the question about recent events (Question 9) (which included being led through the "flash card" series of probes about specific incidents), as when he was asked the question about the worst crime that happened to any one living with him. In the case of 14 per cent of the interviews, of course, the respondent lived alone and questions about other members of the household were not relevant.

To some extent, the lopsided frequency of reports about self rather than other members of the household is also due to the fact that most of the recent offenses, such as burglaries, which affected all numbers of the household, were mentioned in the prior question about self. These factors account for only part of the discrepancy, however, since, when the "Entire Household" incidents and the reports from one-person households are omitted, there still remains much more than a two-to-one discrepancy between reports about self and reports about others living in the household.

One explanation for the large discrepancy between the two proportions--reports about self and reports about others living with self--might be due to the order of questioning. The question sequence was: "self-recent," "other-recent," "self-worst," "other-worst." As can be seen in Table 2-6, the proportion of all incidents yielded by a particular

question drops from 53 per cent to 9 per cent with the first shift from self to other member, rises again to 25 per cent when the respondent is asked about himself again, and drops back to 9 per cent when the respondent is asked about other members of his household.

As for the effect of asking for recent events first, this was checked in the pretest where the question about "worst crime ever" was the prior question. Allowing for the briefer period of time covered by the question about recent events (ranging from approximately 15 to 15.5 months, depending upon the date of the interview), these pretests also showed an unrealistically high proportion of incidents in the recent category (41%). (See Report No. 2, pp. 7-10.)

The most important and generalized implication of our initial experience was one on which we failed to capitalize fully in the procedures that have been used in this 3-precinct study. This was the inference that a variable which, in our earlier report we called "motivational fatigue," was affecting the incident reporting by respondents. This was evident in the relatively high rate of reporting of just one incident by respondents and the low rate with which two or more incidents were reported.

Comparison with an Equal-Risk Probability Model

The results from our survey can be compared with a mathematical probability model that assumes no clustering of risks, that is, that each person has an equal chance of being victimized at any time. The model assumes, further, that victims are purely passive agents and that nothing they do as a result of having been victimized once affects their chances of being victimized one or more additional times. Given an overall rate of victimization as observed, Table 2-7 compares the observed

proportions of respondents reporting a given number of incidents affecting themselves or their households with the theoretically expected proportions.

TABLE 2-7

COMPARISON OF PRETEST AND STUDY RESULTS: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS OF VICTIMIZATION OF ALL TYPES REPORTED BY EACH RESPONDENT ACTUAL AND THEORETICAL

Number of Incidents Respondent Reported	Pretest Respondents				Study Respondents[1]			
	Actual		Theoretical		Actual		Theoretical	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	59	32	79	43	212	41	214	42
1	99	54	66	37	196	38	186	36
2	21	11	28	15	74	15	81	16
3	3	2	7	4	21	4	24	5
4	1	1	2	1	5	1	5	1
5	-	-	1	*	3	1	1	*
Total	183	100	183	100	511	100	511	100

*Less than 1%.

[1]These data are for respondents from Precincts 6, 10 and 14.

Data from the pretests and from the final survey are given. If the respondents' reports accurately mirrored reality, a higher than expected proportion of respondents reporting one incident would reflect a situation where having been a victim once reduces the chances of being victimized again. This would be ideally true of homicide victims. Among the classes of victimization reflected in our survey, however, it would imply that a

"once bitten, twice shy" situation prevailed. Greater than anticipated proportions of respondents reporting frequent incidents would imply a clustering of risks.

The independent knowledge we have of the true situation leads us to anticipate the latter type of deviation from the probability model. First of all, there is a good reason to expect that some classes of persons are considerably more vulnerable to victimization than are others.[4] Secondly, a simple artifactual consideration suggests that some respondents would have experienced more reportable incidents than others in that they belong to households with a greater number of persons whose victimization they could report in response to the "Recent--Other-Household Member" questions.

In the pretest, a much greater proportion of the respondents reported just one incident than theoretically expected. In the case of the survey proper, however, the fit was extremely close, although there was an insignificant excess of respondents reporting one incident, rather than more than one or none (see Table 2-7).

Two interpretations are consistent with the close fit of our actual results with the expected proportions of persons having none, one, or several incidents. It is possible that the tendency of some people to take effective precautions after they have once been victimized balances out the tendency of some types of people to be more vulnerable than others. Another interpretation is that there is risk clustering in actuality, but

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[4]See B. Mendelsohn, "The Origin of the Doctrine of Victimology." Excerpta Criminologica 3 (May-June 1963).

the behavior of a respondent in the interview is such as to reduce the likelihood of his bothering to report an additional incident to the interviewer once he has described the first one. The latter effect is one to which we ascribed the concentrations in our pretest data in the one incident and no incident categories, in that there is little evidence of an effective relationship between precautions and victimization. Indeed the respondents who report more than one incident of victimization more often reported taking precautionary measures than those reporting either no incidents or merely one incident.

13th Precinct Experience

The remedies which we adopted for the study proper--giving priority to the more readily recalled recent incidents and more thorough specific probing with the detailed list of possible offenses (see "Flash Cards," Appendix D)--did provide a distribution more consistent with a theoretically expected distribution than was the case in the pretest (see Table 2-7).

In the early phase of the interviewing of the study sample, however, both the statistical distributions of the number of incidents related by each respondent and the impressions of the interview difficulties reported by the interviewers suggested that we had not yet solved the problem. We suspected that the source of difficulty was in our procedure of asking the respondent for the details of each incident he remembered as soon as he mentioned it rather than asking him first whether there had been any other incidents. This had two effects, we inferred. First, the lengthy task of providing the details of the first one or two incidents mentioned drew heavily on the reservoir of motivation for cooperating with the interviewer. Second, it switched the task of the respondent alternately

from that of a general search of his memory for instances of crime to the somewhat different one of remembering highly specific details about one instance at one point of time.

13th Precinct Results

Since we were already committed to the procedure, it was not until we undertook the study of an additional precinct (Number 13) that we could put these hypotheses to test. In the 13th Precinct, the respondent was first asked to give simple yes-or-no responses to the question of whether or not he had been a victim of one of the types of incidents on the check list. It was only after the interviewer had completed the checklist that he asked the respondent for details of any incident mentioned.

The apparent results of the modification are striking. As compared with 0.8 incidents mentioned by each respondent using the 3-precinct study procedure, the modified approach used in Precinct 13 yielded approximately 2.0 incidents per respondent. Further, since we gave greater priority concentration to recent events affecting the respondent himself--the victimization data on which we base our estimation of victim rates and offense rates--the analysis of the data from the 13th Precinct yielded rates of offenses approximately three times as great as those of the pilot study.

The greater reporting may also reflect to some extent a greater prevalence of crime in this precinct. The major reason for the large increase in reporting of victimization, however, is probably methodological. Inspection indicates that the greater reporting characterizes all of the very heterogeneous areas represented in the study.

Effects of Sampling Procedure

Another source of error is our sampling procedure.

The sampling plan did not provide as great a probability for representation of persons from larger households. We find that there is a negligible correlation (-.05) between size of household and number of incidents reported by the respondent. This reinforces the earlier mentioned finding of the relatively low yield from questions other than those asking about the respondent's own experience.

Many sources of data and computations to be presented here are used for estimating the incidence of offenses. This complicates greatly the problem of attaching values of the error of estimate to the results. No combined measure of error has been attempted. Some confidence in the reliability of estimates can be gained by regarding the work in each of the three precincts as replications of the method. Very similar rates of victimization, and corresponding estimates of offense rates, are found in each precinct. Indeed, there is far less variation from precinct to precinct than characterizes the rates calculated from police statistics. Similarly, the estimations of prevalence derived from the first 291 interviews carried out, reported in May, were of the same order of magnitude as that based on the 220 interviews completed from late May to early July. (See Report No. 4.) Thus, for such estimates as the rate of offenses or the rate of reported Part I offenses, the variation from precinct to precinct is very small. We therefor can have high confidence that successive applications of the same procedures in the same areas of Washington would yield results of the same order of magnitude.

The problem of error is much more difficult, however, for deciding whether differences between precincts or between any other subgroups of our sample are attributable to true differences, to "random" errors or those associated with the inaccuracies of measuring device. Here, our procedure has compounded information from several sources for the various estimations and corrections, each of which has its particular error functions.

Differences Among Respondents

As in the case of the data on which police crime statistics are based, the data from questions about victimization in our interviews are functions both of what has happened to the members of our population and the adequacy of our procedures for eliciting information about these happenings. Our survey method is heavily dependent upon the ability and motivation of the respondent to remember events and to report them in the interview situation. In our pretest and survey experience, we have found that the quantity of the reports of victimization that are elicited by our interviews depends to a considerable degree upon how the task of remembering and reporting is structured by the interview schedule and, presumably, by the way in which the interviewer uses it.

Despite the most intensive instructions we could afford to provide our interviewers and the high degree of specification and standardization we established for the interviewing procedure, we observed considerable variation from interviewer to interviewer in the average number of reports of victimization his completed interviews contained. To a considerable degree, this may follow from variation in the nature of the respondents inclinations toward relating incidents of victimization to the interviewers.

As a simple check on variation in incident reporting by characteristics of the respondent, we have made tabular comparisons between those respondents who reported no incidents of victimization whatsoever having occurred to themselves or to any member of their household (212 respondents) and those who did report one or more incidents (299 respondents). The latter were weighted in the tabulations by the number of incidents of victimization reported. In effect, this amounts to treating each incident of victimization as a case so that individuals who report more than one incident are treated as separate individuals for each incident in these tabulations.

We found that incident reporting was directly related to most social-class-linked variables we tested. The most pronounced variation was found with education but differences are manifest only at the advanced level. Among the nonvictims, 8 per cent had completed college as contrasted with 20 per cent of the victimization respondents. Higher proportions of those reporting victimization than of nonvictims were white. Similarly, although the relationship was less pronounced, incident reporting was heavier from home owners as compared with renters, from residents of single-family houses and elevator apartment buildings than those in walk-up apartment houses or rooming houses; from residents of sound structures than dilapidated or deteriorating ones, from those paying higher rentals and owners of higher valued residences, from members of family units than from unattached individuals, from members of moderately small families (4-5 individuals) as compared with both smaller or larger ones. Possibly

class-linked as well is the heavier reporting from 6th Precinct residents and low reporting from 14th Precinct ones. An exception was the index of socioeconomic status which we used primarily to identify the unambiguously poor. Incidents were reported somewhat more frequently by poor respondents and by high status respondents--middle SES-score respondents were relatively highly represented among those who had no victimization to report.

Individuals who said that they were insured against theft of household property and those who said their cars were insured against theft also were much more predominant among the victimization repondents than among those reporting no victimization. Insurance is also social-class linked, but since the magnitude of the differences is greater than in the case of the other variables mentioned above, with the sole exception of college completion, presumably an additional factor is operating.

Women also were reporters of victimization in greater proportion. An identical difference distinguished respondents who were the spouses of heads of households from those who were heads, there being no difference among those who had other relationships to the head of household.

Incident reports were more commonly made by those who were longer term residents of their community.

Age differences were manifest in a somewhat greater prevalence of reporting among those in the 26-to-30-year interval and a pronounced tendency of those over 66 years of age to report no victimization. Widows and widowers relatively frequently claimed never to have been victims.

Respondents who said that they usually carried a weapon of some sort when they went out reported victimization in greater proportion

than did those who claimed they carried no weapons. There was no association observed, however, with the importance the respondent attached to safety and orderliness of the neighborhood in having picked his residence, or in the respondent's rating of how free from crime his neighborhood actually was.

The number of incidents of all types that a given respondent reports, it seems likely, would be more dependent upon his cooperativeness with the interviewer than would his reporting one incident. If indeed some of the differences just discussed stem from cooperativeness, then they would be less likely to be as pronounced with respect to reports of those types of incidents which were asked for first and which are seemingly most readily remembered--the recent incidents of which the respondent himself was a victim. When just the incidents during the recent one-year period are examined--those used in this report to estimate offense rates--differences in the proportion of incidents reported by the various categories of respondents are in many instances the same as found when all incidents were considered. The college-educated, again, are found out of proportion among those describing a recent victimization; so, too, are white respondents. In the main, however, the pattern is for reports of the recent incidents to be less strongly related to the class factors we speculate may have affected the number of the incidents reported and more directly related to other characteristics. Recent incidents, as contrasted with all incidents taken together, are more often reported by renters than owners, those paying lower rents, the "poor" on our SES measure, those divorced and separated, those with insurance against theft and those who carry weapons, and females. Widows

and widowers and those over 55 years of age are less frequently represented among the victims of recent incidents.

The comparisons briefly discussed above suggest that until further data and analysis are available, it would be hazardous to use the gross victimization reports from the survey to determine the differential vulnerability to victimization of various elements of the population. Considerably more work is needed to assess which of these differences may be attributable to remembering or cooperativeness, rather than actual victimization.

In our present data, we appear to have higher than average reporting at the two ends of the socioeconomic scale. It is possible, as has been found in analysis of known offenses by census tracts, that residents of high status areas bordering low status ones (which is the case of all high socioeconomic areas in our sample) have especially high rates of offenses. Three-fourths of the offenses reported by our respondents were directed against property. It is altogether possible that within a general geographic area, there will be some relationship between the amount or value of a person's property and its liklihood of being the target of an offender. At the other end, it is plausible that the poor inhabit areas of greatest social disorganization. Other of the differences and lack of differences between the characteristics of those reporting and not reporting recent victimization, however, seem more consistent with differences in reporting behavior than victimization. This seems the most plausible interpretation of the high number of incidents reported by college graduates.

In the case of the excess of reporting by females, it is first necessary to reemphasize that the majority of the incidents in our survey have been classed, although often arbitrarily, as ones of which the entire household, not merely the respondent, was the victim. But, with few exceptions, all of the incidents we are counting are ones of which the respondent regarded himself as the victim--they are incidents given in response to questions about oneself. Further, this was more frequently the case with females (90 per cent of the incidents they reported) than males (81 per cent of their incidents). We find, therefor, some greater tendency of women to regard themselves as a victim in the case of crimes which we define as victimizing the entire household than is true of men. This factor may explain the apparent contradiction between the data from our survey and that from other studies. (For example, the recent FBI "Offender Mobility Study" in Washington found that males much more frequently were victims of crimes than were females.) A much higher percentage of the crimes mentioned by women respondents are burglaries, while men mention robberies and assaults in greater proportion. It follows, then, that either homes without an adult male are special targets of burglars or that females are less likely than males to omit mentioning a recent burglary to our interviewers when one has occurred. We suspect that for burglaries and other offenses which we have classed as offenses against the entire household, such as vandalism, the latter factor accounts for the high apparent victimization of women.

B. Adjusting Survey Results for Comparisons

Time Periods and Recall

The major purpose of the study is to explore the value of surveys of the public for supplementing the information available to the police on the occurrence of crime. A central problem is gaining comparability between the incidents of victimization which the respondents in these precincts reported that they experienced during a given time period and the "actual offenses" in these precincts during the same period reported by the police. To a considerable degree, the procedures used in the present study to collect information on victimization have been structured in the light of the problems of such comparisons. Somewhat different procedures would be used if one sought only to maximize the intrinsic potentialities of surveys of the public for knowledge of citizen victimization.

The seemingly most reliable data from our interviews are those relating to recent incidents which directly involved the respondent or his entire household. All told, the 511 respondents in the survey reported 258 such incidents for the one-and-a-half-year period covered by the pertinent questions. The distribution of such incidents by quarter-year periods in Table 2-8, shows a pronounced decrease in the first two quarters and in the last, and a somewhat uneven distribution in the middle quarters of the period.

Simple and plausible reasons may account for the two tails of the time distribution. The most recent period would be expected to have fewer incidents because interviews were being conducted during this entire period--more than half of the interviews were completed before the midpoint of the

quarter had been reached. The low number of incidents dated as occurring in early 1965 presumably results from lesser recall of events more remote in time. (See Report No. 2.)

TABLE 2-8

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCIDENTS OF RECENT VICTIMIZATION INVOLVING THE RESPONDENT (INCLUDING "ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD" INCIDENTS) BY TIME PERIOD AND CUMULATIVE RATE PER 100 RESPONDENTS (N=511 Respondents)

Date	Number of Incidents	Per Cent of Recent Incidents	Cumulative Rate Per 100 Respondents
1966			
April to July	38	15	7.4
January to March	47	18	16.6
1965			
October to December	58	22	28.0
July to September	35	14	34.8
April to June	39	15	42.5
January to March	24	9	47.2
1965 or 1966 but not specifically identifiable by month (includes 10 "series type" offenses)	17	7	50.5
Total 1965-1966	258	100	

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The distribution is almost certainly perturbated by "telescoping" effects. This results from distortions of the time sense in people's memories so that events which happened some time ago are recalled as having happened more recently or the reverse.

Discussions of telescoping have usually dealt with the tendency to shift events forward in time, although backward "telescoping" has been noted as well. As yet, there are no general rules applicable to types of respondents, events, and time periods for evaluating telescoping effects, other than that they are likely to occur and may be of substantial consequence for estimates based on survey reports. A review of investigations of telescoping and other distortions of recall was prepared recently by the Bureau of the Census[5] in connection with an extensive investigation of response errors in surveys of household expenditures.

We have many indications that, even for the most recent time periods, our data underestimate the frequency with which incidents occur. Presumably this is because of recall difficulties, the reticence and less than full cooperativeness of some respondents, the inexpertness of some interviewers, the loss of data through imperfectly completed forms, and the motivational fatigue associated with the long duration of some of our interviews (over two hours in some cases). Nonetheless, it is important to develop a minimum estimate of the frequency of victimization expressed in yearly-rate terms.

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[5] John Neter and Joseph Waksberg, Response Errors in Collection of Expenditures Data by Household Interviews: An Experimental Study, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, September 1964, Technical Paper, No. 11.

Period Selected for Estimations

We therefore have taken as the basis for such an estimate the first quarter of 1966 and the last three quarters of 1965. This balances the possible inflation from telescoping of the figure for the later quarter of 1965, on the one hand, with the lower value for the second quarter of 1965 which apparently results from nonrecall. During this 12-month period, 195 incidents of victimization were counted among our 511 respondents--a rate of 38 per cent.

If the two most recent, complete quarters be regarded as a better basis for an estimate, and the figure is extrapolated to a 12-month basis, we would estimate a 42 per cent annual rate of victimization, rather than the 38 per cent estimate derived from the full 12 months. In this instance, error in the direction of conservatism is preferred, however.

Noncomparability with Police Data

These figures are in many respects not comparable with the "Crime Index" figures of the Uniform Crime Reports, although this index is sometimes spoken of as a "victim risk rate," nor with the statistics on actual offenses kept by the Metropolitan Police. Among the sources of noncomparability are the following:

1. Offenses versus victims.--The survey figures are based on the incidence of personal victims, not of offenses. Some offenses have many victims. For others, such as offenses of mutual victimization and those against public order, or against corporate entities, it is difficult to identify any specific individual or individuals as the victim. In our

interviewing, we left it to the judgment of the individuals as to whether he was a personal victim of the offenses he reported. In many other instances, such as burglaries or auto thefts, every member of the household might consider himself the victim.

Although the magnitude is so small as to make any possible effect trivial, it should also be pointed out that our procedures preclude representation of homicide victims in our estimates.[6]

2. Locus.--The Uniform Crime Reports and police statistics locate crimes by the place the offense occurred; the present data by the residence of the victim. The incidents reported by the respondents in the main occurred close to home. Almost three-fourths of all incidents took place in the respondent's neighborhood; three-fifths on his own block; and fully half at his home. The only other frequent location was the victim's place of work, where 11 per cent of the incidents reportedly took place. Only in rare instances were crimes described as happening outside of the District of Columbia. Crimes against Negro respondents had a distribution less remote from place of residence than was true of white respondents.

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[6]Although we had erroneously assumed the contrary, it was technically possible for a homicide victim to be picked by our respondent selection procedure. We were reminded that even the event of exceedingly minute probability is not an impossible event by this actually having occurred. It occurred in this way. Our rules provided that the composition of a household that would be used for selecting the respondent would always be that as of the time the interviewer first derived these data from a member of the household. This was to be the case regardless of whether the composition changed between that first contact and his being able to find the respondent available for an interview. One of our interviewers enumerated a household on a Friday, found that the member designated by the selection table as the respondent was not at home, returned on Monday to learn that the designated person had been shot and killed in a gun fight in Southeast Washington on Saturday.

3. Unevaluated testimony.--The survey figures are based on the unsupported and unevaluated testimony of the informants, as opposed to police statistics where reported offenses are subject to unfounding upon investigation.

Thus, to gain some comparability of our victimization rates with police rates of offenses, we must adjust the survey victim data for: (1) the place of residence of victims; (2) multiple victims of a single property offense; and (3) false or baseless reports in the interview.

Converting Victim Data to Offense Data

Worksheet A contains a summary of the calculations we have made to form a very crude estimate of the annual frequency of offenses involving the victimization of citizens of these precincts. Data from the 3-precinct survey covering victimization in any of the four quarters from April 1, 1965 to March 31, 1966 are used.[7] In view of the crude nature of our procedure, we have rounded figures liberally to avoid erroneous impressions of precision in our estimation.

Gross Victimization Rate

From the number of incidents reported by the respondents in each of the 3 precincts studied, a gross victimization rate is derived. Interestingly, we find that the respondents in the 14th Police Precinct, which has the lowest crime rate in police statistics, have the highest rate of victimization in our survey reports.

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[7]There were 18 incidents that respondents stated occurred during 1965 or 1966 but which they could not date within a specific quarter-year. The ambiguity in 17 of these cases stemmed from the fact that they were a series of events, rather than one at a specific point in time--usually obscene or threatening telephone calls over a period of time or a series of acts of vandalism. Each of these series was classed as one incident and, where they appeared to be of the correct recency, have been included in the incidents used for the calaculations.

WORK SHEET A
ESTIMATING GROSS RATE AND VOLUME OF OFFENSES BY PRECINCT FROM SURVEY VICTIMIZATION REPORTS FOR PERIOD APRIL 1965 THROUGH MARCH 1966

		Precinct		
		6	10	14
1.	Total number of respondents.	155	173	183
2.	Number of incidents of which respondent was victim during period period.	55	65	75
3.	Gross victimization rate. (Line 2/Line 1.)	.35	.38	.41
4.	Number of single-victim offenses	22	20	24
5.	Number of "entire household" incidents.	(32)	(45)	(51)
6.	Eligible persons per household (age 18 or over).	(2.3)	(2.2)	(2.1)
7.	Offense equivalent for "entire household" incidents. (Line 5/Line 6.)	14	20	24
8.	Other multiple-victim incidents.	(1)	(0)	(0)
9.	Number of victims per other multiple-victim incident.	(2)	-	-
10.	Offense equivalent for other multiple-victim incidents. (Line 8/Line 9.)	*	-	-
11.	Offense equivalent for all incidents. (Sum of Lines 4,7 & 10.)	36	40	48
12.	Less: correction for estimated baseless complaints. (4.4% of Line 11.)	-1	-2	-2
13.	"Actual offense" equivalent.	35	38	46
14.	Gross offense rate. (Line 13/Line 1.)	.23	.22	.25
15.	Estimates of population age 17.4 or over.	52,000	66,000	49,000
16.	Gross estimate of offenses. (Line 14 x Line 15.)	12,000	14,500	12,250
17.	Proportion of incidents claimed reported to police.	.51	.54	.58
18.	Gross estimate of reported offenses. (Line 16 x Line 17.)	6,100	7,800	7,100
19.	Proportion of incidents classed Part I.	.70	.70	.68
20.	Gross estimate of Part I offenses. (Line 16 x Line 19.)	8,400	10,200	8,300
21.	Part I offense rate. (Line 20/Line 15.)	.16	.15	.17
22.	Proportion of Part I claimed reported to police.	.51	.62	.61
23.	Gross estimate of reported Part I offenses. (Line 22 x Line 20.)	4,300	6,300	5,100
24.	Gross estimate of rate of reported Part I offenses. (Line 23/Line 15.)	.08	.10	.10
25.	Proportion of incidents classed as Index offenses.	.49	.46	.55
26.	Gross estimate of Index offenses. (Line 25 x Line 16.)	5,900	6,700	6,700
27.	Gross estimate of rate of Index offenses. (Line 26/Line 15.)	.11	.10	.14
28.	Proportion of Index offenses claimed reported to police.	.67	.75	.74
29.	Gross estimate of reported Index offenses. (Line 26 x Line 28.)	3,900	5,000	5,000
30.	Gross estimate of rate of reported Index offenses. (Line 29/Line 15.)	.08	.08	.10
31.	Correction for offenses not in D. C.	-	5%[a]	-

*Less than 1%.

[a]Represents 4 incidents, 3 "Entire Household" and 1 single victim.

This illustrates the different perspective toward crime incidence that is developed by survey data as compared with conventional police statistics. The interpretation for the seeming contradiction of the police figures resides partly in the fact that, as will be shown subsequently, residents of the 14th Precinct are more frequently victimized outside of their home precinct than are residents of the other two areas. In addition, as compared with the other predominantly Negro precinct--the 10th--few of the offenses that occur in the 14th involve business establishments or nonresidents; a large proportion of the crimes listed in the police statistics for the 14th Precinct thus victimize residents. Lastly, for reasons not clear in the data available, a larger proportion of the crimes that do occur in this precinct seemingly do not appear in police statistics as compared with the higher-income and less-exclusively Negro precinct--the 6th.

"Entire-Household" Incidents

As the first step toward gaining comparability with police data, we adjusted our victim totals for the offenses which, in a sense, affected the entire household, rather than the respondent only (Lines 4 to 7 of Worksheet A). For these, any member of the household whom we chanced to interview might possibly report he was a victim. If we consider our sample as a sample of individuals, offenses such as housebreaking and automobile thefts therefore have an additional chance of being enumerated by our method as compared with those of which only one person considers himself the victim.

Without mathematical demonstration, this can be understood by considering the effect of extending our sample to where it was a 100-per cent sample of the adults of the precinct. The same offense would then be reported in many cases by multiple victims of it. Although ours is technically a sample of randomized informants within sampled households and, regardless of size, would never involve interviewing more than one respondent in any household, we are using it in the present procedure as a sample of adult individuals. Thus, in a later step, we will multiply observed rates of victimization among our respondents by the estimated mature population of the precincts to derive an estimate of the total number of victimizations in the precinct.

A correction for multiple victims is therefore necessary. In the case of incidents of victimization which actually or by our arbitrary definition affected the entire household, we used the factor of the number of persons 17 years old or over per household among our victims for all precincts and all such offenses. The "offense equivalent" for the "Entire-Household" incidents reported, shown for each precinct on Line 7 of Worksheet A, is the quotient of the number of such incidents divided by the mean number of of-age respondents per household for the precinct.

We arbitrarily labelled as offenses of which all members of the household were victimized ("Entire-Household Offenses") all burglaries, auto thefts, thefts or malicious destruction of household-type goods (e.g. TV sets, lawn furniture), thefts of automobile parts and accessories, vandalism to automobiles or to residential property, and trespass. Since, for convenience, we have used a mean--of-age persons per victimized household--to determine the number of victims of such offenses, we designated the

types of offenses just mentioned as "Entire-Household Offenses" even when there was only one resident of the household.

In the case of larcenies, where breaking and entering was not involved, the actual owner of the property was considered the victim, if ownership could be identified. Otherwise, the incident was designated an "Entire Household Offense." Thefts from automobiles followed this rule, except where auto parts or accessories were concerned. In the very few incidents of deliberate offenses involving automobiles (failure to stop or identify, or use of an automobile maliciously), all occupants were considered the victim where actual injury or fear of injury was involved, and the entire household if damage to the automobile was involved. In the case of threatening or indecent phone calls, the persons actually receiving the calls were considered the victims and those against whom an act was threatened. For peeping and indecent exposure, where a specific individual or individuals were identifiable as the actual objects--subject to the peeping or the exposure--they were considered the victims.

The actual number of victims was used for offenses that did not fall into the arbitrary "Entire-Household Offense" definitions described above.

The decision was made to count as "Entire-Household" incidents those which the respondent mentioned as victimizing some other member of the household where these were of a type considered as victimizing all members of the household when mentioned by the respondent. One view of the reasonableness of this procedure is as follows.

Let us consider the effect of counting only incidents of which the individual considered himself personally a victim. Since our procedure does not involve interviewing every member of every sampled household, we are forced to guess as to what proportion of "Entire-Household" incidents would be mentioned as a victimization of self by two or more members of a household.

Data from the present survey allow a partial estimate of the proportion of randomly chosen respondents who would not mention such incidents as a self-victimization. This is the proportion who mentioned incidents of this type only when asked the later questions about what happened to other members of their household--for example, those who remembered at this point "my husband's car was stolen," or, "The house was broken into and my wife's coat and my boy's typewriter were taken." In the case of reports of "Entire-Household" incidents by respondents as self-victimizations, we have had to employ the caution that some other member of the household might define the event differently. For example, where our respondent told us "My car was stolen," we have felt that this particular respondent's spouse might report "Our car was stolen," as might his daughter or even his niece who lives with them as a member of the household.

Were we confident of the exhaustiveness of the reporting by our respondents regarding victimization of other members of the household, we would know, on the average, how frequently a member of a household regards "Entire-Household" incidents as happening only to other members of his household and not himself--hence, presumably, incidents he would not mention if asked only about things that had happened to him, personally.

Actually, respondents report relatively few incidents in response to questions about other household members, but we can use the conservatively low proportion of self-exclusions from "Entire-Household" victimization that did occur in our sample. We would reduce our estimate of the number of multiple mentions of a given "Entire-Household" incident that would occur in a 100-per cent sample from one based on the assumption that all members of the household would report it, to one assuming that only a proportion of them will do so. This proportion would be the complementary proportion of incidents mentioned only in response to questions about other members of the household.

Arithmetically, this procedure of reducing the base number of self-defined victims results in exactly the same value as including all "Entire-Household" incidents, regardless of whether they were elicited by questions about self or about others in the household.

Our data included information on whether the respondent was a member of the same household or of some other household at the time of the offense than when interviewed. Our computations for "Entire-Household" crimes employ a mean size of household and we have assumed that the differences between current size of household and that at the time of offense would on the average be so negligibly different as to have no appreciable effect on our results. Consequently, we have not considered changes of household among victims in our calculations. In a study permitting greater precision, a check on the assumption would be necessary.

Other Multiple-Victim and Multiple-Offense Incidents

Person or property offense.--In Uniform Crime Reporting procedures, crimes against persons are handled differently than crimes against property. For the former, the action against each victim is considered separately--there are as many offenses recorded as there are victims. Thus, if a man and his wife are assaulted by a hoodlum, two offenses are considered to have occurred. (In our procedure, this would be considered one incident.) For crimes against property, however, the Uniform Crime Report rule varies, and there are greater problems of comparability with data from a survey. A concept of the "distinct operation" is involved in the procedure used by the police. If a number of cars in a garage that has been broken into have articles stolen from them, this would be one offense by Uniform Crime Report rules, since offenses are "priority coded" and each incident receives just one classification. Similarly, a holdup of several persons simultaneously is considered one offense. For burglaries, there is a single offense counted for each home or apartment entered (but, where several hotel rooms are ransacked on a single occasion, merely one offense is considered to have occurred).

In summary, property crimes involving multiple victims present problems for rendering data from a survey of citizens comparable with police statistics of actual offenses that follow uniform reporting procedure. Crimes against persons, in most instances, do not present difficulty since uniform reporting procedure uses a victim base.

Series of like offenses.--A difficulty involving units that could not be solved entirely satisfactorily was encountered in the present study. This occurred where a respondent described what actually was a series of

related acts over a period of time, where each could be classed as an offense, but where the individual either could not specify precisely how many times the offense had taken place or where so many separate instances were involved that such acts, if counted individually, would contribute highly disproportionately to the total picture of victimization at which the study aimed. The offenses in question included threats, vandalism, obscene telephone calls, thefts of minor automobile parts and accessories (hub caps, gasoline caps, spare tires), indecent exposure, and peeping. Usually, the victim assumed or knew the series of offenses was being committed by the same offender or group of offenders. In each instance where the respondent spoke of the matter in terms of a unitary series of identical offenses of one of the types listed above, it has been considered a single incident. This has been done even though the victim may have made two or more complaints to the police on different occasions. In this respect, consequently, the survey procedure may lead to an undercount relative to police statistics.

Multiple-victim property offenses.--Provision was made for correcting for incidents in which the respondent was victimized in a property crime with other persons, whether or not members of his household, but where the entire household was not victimized. This had little effect on the estimations since all but one of the multiple-victim offenses that did not involve all members of the household for the period were person crimes. Since in the police statistics, these incidents involve a number of offenses equal to the number of victims, no correction is needed for these cases.

Using these procedures, the estimate on Line 11 is that the 195 victim reports by the respondents represent the equivalent of 124 offenses for the purpose of extrapolation of rates to the entire population.

Only one of the reported multiple-victim incidents other than those involving the "Entire-Household" for the time period required correction to derive an offense equivalent. Since three victims were involved in it, it has a value of only one-third of an offense for the estimation procedure. Since we have rounded to the first digit in our calculations, this incident drops out of the estimate total altogether (see Lines 8 to 10 of Worksheet A).

Correction for Possible Baseless Reports

The large volume of reports of victimization relative to that expected on the basis of police data led us in our previous report to lean over backwards, as it were, to avoid undetected factors that might inflate the survey figures relative to those of the police report. In each case in which we deal with a recognized factor to which we cannot attach an empirical quantitative value, we have opted for a procedure that resolves the doubt in the direction of minimizing the estimates of offense incidence derived from the survey and toward increasing those derived from the police data. Thus, for example, while we are certain that a greater number of "Entire-Household" incidents would have been uncovered had we interviewed every member of every household equally intensively, the estimation disregards this underestimation.

One source of error that could raise the survey estimates above true values would be false reports by the respondents. While we have voided those few incidents reported where events as described did not clearly meet our definitions of a criminal offense,[8] the validity of the factual description of what occurred was accepted as given. Incidents were not counted where the respondent merely suspected he had been victimized (most commonly, suspected pickpocket or "insider" theft).

Although it is difficult to conceive of rational reasons for respondents concocting incidents to relate to the interviewer, nonetheless there would probably be alleged instances of victimization described that would prove unfounded upon investigation. In the absence of any direct mode of screening our cases for such false or baseless complaints, we have reduced our estimate of offenses by a percentage equal to the proportion of offenses reported to the Metropolitan Police that are subsequently unfounded. This reduction--4.4 per cent--is applied in Line 12.

Gross Estimate of Offenses

The gross estimate from our sample is that approximately 23 offenses occurred in the 12-month period for every 100 persons over 17 years of age in these three precincts. The absolute number of offenses victimizing

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[8]The victim also had to be an innocent party--e.g. the person who purchased stolen property with any reason to believe it might be stolen was not considered a victim.

of-age residents of these precincts is derived by multiplying this rate by the estimated of-age population[9] of the precincts (Line 14 to 16).

Age Adjustment

An adjustment is required for our including as eligible respondents all those aged 18 on date of interview. Extrapolating crudely, during .62 of the days during the 12-month period used for estimation, the average respondent currently 18 was only 17 years old. Thus, reports of offenses by 18-year-old respondents accepted for our survey include some that occurred when the respondent was only 17. The form in which we took the data does not allow us to winnow out these particular incidents. Since the numerator and denominator of our rate estimates are affected in the same direction, and the values are low, little error in the survey-derived offense estimate would be involved beyond the failure to take account of the lower incidence of crimes against the youngest respondents. Police estimates are not affected by the same factor, however, since age at time of offense is the basic datum. Hence, for more accurate comparability, estimates of precinct population and for offenses reported to the police should be extrapolated to embrace the age category down to approximately 17.4 years. The corrections, judging from police statistics, are of

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[9]An imprecise estimate had to be used. Although recent intercensal estimates of population by census tracts are available for the District of Columbia, the police precincts straddle some census tract boundaries. Estimates of the population of census tracts for 1964 were used. District of Columbia, Community Renewal Program, Office of Urban Renewal, Estimated Population of D. C. Census Tracts and Statistical Areas, July 1, 1964. December 1965. The procedure is described in Chapter I.

trivial magnitude, at the level of accuracy at which we are working. Only 1 per cent of crime complainants in the police data are in the 17-year-old class, for the classes of offense for which ages are given. A rough interpolation was used to adjust the population estimates to include persons 17.4 years or over.

Gross Comparison of Police and Survey Derived Offense Totals

The gross estimate of the number of offenses occurring to residents of these 3 precincts, shown in Line 16, totals 38,700. This number approaches in magnitude the total of all actual offenses of all classes for the entire city given in the Annual Report of the police department, including offenses against nonresidents, businesses and other institutions, as well as other offenses that are excluded from the survey estimates such as those involving "self-victimization," or "mutual victimization." The residents of these 3 precincts comprise only slightly more than one-fourth of the adult population of the entire city.

Types of Offenses Included in the Estimates

Further steps in Worksheet A analyse these gross offense totals into several components.

Reported vs unreported offenses.--First, incidents respondents said were not reported to the police are removed.[10] About 55 per cent of all incidents during the period, according to the respondents, were reported.

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[10]The proportions used in calculating Line 17 to Line 20 of Worksheet A are proportions of incidents, rather than offenses. The assumption is that the proportions are identical for multiple-victim incidents and single-victim incidents. This results in some error, but the identification of the offense-equivalents for the particular incidents involved in each of the categories of the Worksheet would have been too time consuming to be merited, given the small units involved. The effect in some slight exaggeration of the number of offenses in the Part 1, Index, and Reported categories because these were in greater proportion "Entire-Household" incidents than single-victim ones. The effect is greatest for estimating total reported incidents where it is 5 per cent for the combined 3-precinct figure.

Estimates of the numbers and rates per 100 of-age persons are computed for the crimes the respondents claim were reported to the police in the same manner as in the case for all offenses. In a similar fashion, successive steps of the Worksheet present estimates for all Part I offenses and for Part I offenses reported to the police, as well as for Uniform Crime Index offenses and for Index Offenses reported to the police.

Offenses outside of D. C.--An additional step of Worksheet A (Line 31) presents the per cent of these offenses occurring outside of the District of Columbia as a correction factor for estimating the contribution of offenses against mature residents of these precincts to the total incidence of crime in the District of Columbia.

Offenses against institutions.--Anticipating one additional problem of comparability with police data, however, a final correction has been added. In apportioning offenses in the published police statistics between offenses against individual victims and those against institutions and business enterprises, special care has to be taken for comparisons with data from victim surveys to identify those types of incidents that may be reported in a survey by both individual victims and institutional representatives. A clear-out example is the theft of an individual's car from a tended parking lot or an automobile repair shop. Both the individual auto owner and the establishment proprietor would usually regard themselves victimized. Although there are data available for estimating the proportion of police totals for auto thefts that are from business establishments, this information does not distinguish between thefts of corporately-owned and individually-owned vehicles.

Similarly, in "housebreaking" cases where nonresidential premises were involved, the police data do not sort housebreakings according to whether personal property or business property or both were affected. The descriptions of premises and reporting by the respondents allow us to adjust data from the victim survey to exclude all cases where there was a liklihood that the offense might also figure as an offense against a business establishment.

In-Precinct Victimization

A more elaborate procedure has been employed to restrict estimations to incidents that occurred within the precinct of current residence, since only at the level of precinct estimates can we make any direct comparisons between survey estimates and police data. This is because police data are available on the basis of the location of the offense, not the residence of the victim.

Worksheet B presents the principal steps that were followed to estimate the numbers and rates of offenses against residents of a precinct that occurred in the precinct of residence. The procedures followed in Worksheet A are repeated, but adjustments are needed to deal with the exclusion of incidents that occurred somewhere else.

WORKSHEET B
ESTIMATING IN-PRECINCT RATE AND VOLUME OF OFFENSES FROM SURVEY VICTIMIZATION REPORTS
FOR PERIOD APRIL 1965 THROUGH MARCH 1966

	Precinct		
	6	10	14
A. Rate Base Estimation			
1. Total number of respondents.	155	173	183
2. Residents of precinct during entire 12-month period.	134	150	159
3. In-migrants to precinct during 12-month period.	(21)	(23)	(24)
4. Mean length of residence in precinct of in-migrant (years).	(.62)	(.62)	(.62)
5. Full year residence equivalent for in-migrant--"exposure." (Line 3 x Line 4.)	13	14	15
6. Total respondent years--rate base (sum of Line 2 and Line 5).	147	164	174
B. Precinct Victimization Estimation			
7. Number of incidents during period of which respondent a victim.	55	65	75
8. Less incidents out of precinct of current residence.	-12	-11	-19
9. Incidents occurring in precinct of current residence	43	54	56
10. In-precinct victimization rate. (line 9/Line 6.)	.29	.33	.32
C. Offense Equivalent Estimation			
11. Number of single victim in-precinct incidents	15	15	14
12. Number of "Entire-Household" in precinct incidents.	(28)	(39)	(42)
13. Eligible persons per household (age 18 or over).	(2.3)	(2.2)	(2.1)
14. Offense equivalent for "Entire-Household" incidents. (Line 12/Line 13.)	12	18	20
15. Other multiple-victim property incidents	-	-	-
16. Number of victims per incidents.	-	-	-
17. Offense equivalent for other multiple-victim incidents. (Line 15/Line 16.)	-	-	-
18. Offense equivalent for all in-precinct incidents. (Sum of Lines 11, 14 & 17.)	27	33	34
19. Less correction for estimated baseless complaints. (4.4% of Line 18.)	-1	-1	-2
20. "Actual offense" equivalent.	26	32	32
D. Estimations of Rates and Volumes of Offenses			
21. In-precinct offense rate. (Line 20/Line 6.)	.18	.20	.18
22. Estimates of population age 17.4 or over	52,000	66,000	49,000
23. Gross estimate of in-precinct offenses. (Line 21 x Line 22.)	9,400	13,200	8,800
24. Proportion of in-precinct incidents claimed reported to police.	.51	.54	.58
25. Gross estimate of reported in-precinct offenses. (Line 23 x Line 24.)	4,800	7,100	5,100
E. Estimations of Part I Rates and Volumes			
26. Proportion of in-precinct incidents classed Part I.	.65	.65	.70
27. Gross estimate of Part I in-precinct offenses. (Line 23 x Line 26.)	6,100	8,600	6,200
28. Part I in-precinct offense rate. (Line 27/Line 22.)	.12	.13	.13
29. Proportion of Part I claimed reported to police.	.51	.62	.62
30. Gross estimate of reported Part I in-precinct offenses. (Line 27 x Line 29.)	3,100	5,300	3,800
31. Gross estimate of rate of reported Part I in-precinct offenses. (Line 30/Line 22.)	.06	.08	.08
F. Estimations of Index Rates and Volumes			
32. Proportion of in-precinct offenses classed as Index in-precinct offenses.	.49	.46	.55
33. Gross estimate of Index in-precinct offenses. (Line 23 x Line 32.)	4,600	6,100	4,900
34. Gross estimate of rate of Index in-precinct offenses. (Line 33/Line 22.)	.09	.09	.10
35. Proportion of Index in-precinct offenses claimed reported to police.	.67	.75	.74
36. Gross estimate of reported Index in-Precinct offenses. (Line 33 x Line 35.)	3,100	4,600	3,600
37. Gross estimate of rate of reported Index in-precinct offenses. (Line 36/Line 22.)	.06	.07	.07

Mobile respondents.--In Worksheet A, we neglected mobility of our respondents. With few exceptions, they had been residents of the District of Columbia during the entire 12-month period on which we base our estimates. An appreciable proportion of our sample had moved within the District of Columbia during this period, however. Were we to repeat the procedure of Worksheet A without taking this into account, we would probably err in the direction of underestimation of incidence. This can be pointed to most simply by considering that many (if not most) of the newcomers to the precinct are replacements for those who have moved out. (We did not employ information on the number of respondents in new construction, although this, along with demolitions, was taken into account in devising the sample.) We know from our data, as well as other sources of information, that the largest proportion of victimization occurs at home or close to home. Incidents against those who left the precinct during the 12-month period would have occurred largely within the precinct, but these are not enumerated by our procedure. Similarly, we would expect incidents against newcomers that happened prior to their move to have taken place in the areas from which they came.

In our previous report, we derived estimates on the assumption that those moving into the precinct were replacements of those moving out and that crimes against in-migrants at their previous residence would roughly balance those against the out-migrants in the precincts we are studying. Since we were not tapping through our interviews the crimes that had been committed against those who had moved out of the precinct prior to the

survey, we struck a rough balance by including in our previously reported estimates victimization of the in-migrants that had occurred at or in the vicinity of their previous residence.

Since a large number of our respondents had changed addresses during the period (about 17 per cent), handling the complication of mobility in this way may lead to some inaccuracy. This is particularly true in light of our observation that the recently mobile more frequently report recent victimization in the precinct of current residence than do respondents who have lived in the precinct throughout the period in question. This is probably attributable to characteristics of those who move rather than immediate consequences of the act of moving. It is plausible, however, that a recent move helps to improve recall for recent victimization incidents, particularly since such a large proportion of the crimes are linked to one's residence. For greater accuracy of estimation, separate rates based on exposure during residence in the precinct could be computed for those who have moved into the precinct during the period. A similar adjustment also could be made for the new residents of the city.

A simpler adjustment seems satisfactory, however. This involves adjusting the numerical base upon which we compute our victimization rate. Essentially, we convert our sample size into a sample of resident years (exposure to victimization as a precinct resident). The base for computing rate of victimization thus becomes the number of persons interviewed who were residents of the precinct during the entire 12-month period plus the sum of the fractional years of residence of in-migrants. Since our data on length of residence in precinct and city were tabulated in gross class intervals, in actuality we used interpolated mean periods of residence as coefficients for estimating the latter sum. These adjustments are made in Part A of Worksheet B.

Out-of-precinct incidents.--In the next part of the Worksheet, the 42 incidents that occurred out of the precinct are subtracted from our earlier totals. A rate of victimization in the precinct is computed (Line 10) using the adjusted population base. The in-precinct rate is not radically reduced from that based on all incidents derived in the previous Worksheet. The difference in rates between precincts, however, is now considerably less. Two possible interpretations of these observations suggest themselves. The first, supplementing the hypotheses mentioned earlier of the high recent victimization of recent movers, is that those who move shift from lower to higher risk locations. It is also the case, however, that 14th Precinct residents more frequently are victims away from their own areas than residents of the other two precincts.

Other adjustments.--The remaining steps of Worksheet B repeat the corresponding operations previously performed for all incidents. The results will be discussed in detail in relation to data we will present from police statistics.

C. Comparisons with Police Data

Seeking reports of victimization from cross-sections of the public is a difficult and costly process. One test of the worth of studying crime in this manner is the extent to which it provides information on crime that is not otherwise available to the police. Consequently, the present report compares offense estimates derived from the survey for the 3 precints with data on "Actual Offenses Reported" in the Fiscal Year 1966 Annual Report of the Metropolitan Police.[11]

[11]Preliminary estimates were prepared for the Crime Commission using the FY 1965 report since the FY 1966 data did not become available early enough. These preliminary estimates were used by the Commission in preparing its report. The 1966 data for the 3 precincts showed a one per cent increase for Part I offenses and an 18 per cent increase for Part II classes.

Adjustments of Police Data

To compare estimates from the survey with police report data, the contribution of victimization of the populations sampled to the police figures must be estimated. This requires deleting from police figures:

1. offenses against businesses and institutions;

2. those against nonresidents of the precincts;

3. those against persons under 17.4 years of age;

4. those that do not involve individual citizens as the victims, such as vagrancy and fugitive;

5. offenses that involve "mutual victimization" or "self victimization" such as drug use or prostitution.

Chart 2-1 shows the adjustments needed for each class of offense and the availability of data for making a correction.

The comparisons have to be restricted to offenses against mature residents of the precinct that occurred in the precinct of residence. This restriction excludes only a small proportion of all victimization from our consideration. About four-fifths of the incidents in question occurred in the precinct of residence. Estimates from an FBI survey to be presented below, are of a similar order. They indicate that three-fourths of all offenses against private citizens in these precincts are against residents of the precinct. Since most "Entire-Household" incidents victimize only residents, a lower proportion of incidents in our survey would involve out-of-precinct victimization than the proportion which would be derived after a conversion to offense units.

CHART 2-1
AVAILABILITY OF DATA FOR ADJUSTMENTS OF POLICE DATA TO IDENTIFY COMPONENTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO OFFENSES AGAINST RESIDENT, OF-AGE CITIZENS, BY CLASS OF OFFENSE

Class of Offense	Required Adjustments	Partial Adjustment Possible	Full Adjustment Possible
Murder	AR		AR
Manslaughter	AR		AR
Negligent homicide	AR		AR
Attempt rape	AR		AR
Attempt robbery	ARB		ARB
Aggravated assault	AR		AR
Housebreaking	B		B
Theft--$50 and over	ARB		RB
$100 and over	ARB	A	
Under $50	ARB		
Auto theft	RB		RB
Other assault	ARB	A	
Weapons	V		V
Prostitution	V		V
Sex offenses	VAR	VA	
Drug laws	V		V
Gambling	V		V
Liquor laws	V		V
Vagrancy	V		V
All other offenses	V		V
Fugitive from justice	V		V

V--Victimization versus nonvictimization offenses
A--Age of victim
R--Resident of precinct
B--Business or other corporate
Underlined adjustments made from FBI survey Data

Estimations of Index Offenses

More adequate bases for adjusting offenses for comparability are available for Part I and Index classes, particularly the latter, than is the case with Part II offenses. First of all, none of these classes of offense are "offenses without victims." Secondly, more data are available regarding victims and complainants for these offenses in the police report than for most other classes. Thirdly, for Index classes, we were able to apply data from a survey of the mobility of offenders conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Washington area during October and November of 1964.

Data from special FBI survey.--The FBI survey tabulated by precinct for Index offenses the number that were directed against business establishments and those that involved nonresident victims. Although the number of cases by precinct is small, the time period not congruent with that of our survey, the data limited to cases for which charges were brought, and to Index classes, this survey provided the best data available for two of the four distinctions needed to compare survey and police data at the precinct level.[12] The data from the FBI Offender Mobility Survey used for adjusting the police data are shown in Table 2-9.

Since age data on victims were available from the FBI survey only as averages, police data on age of complainants had to be employed to apportion offenses between of-age and underage victims. These figures were available only on a citywide basis and the assumption had to be made that the ratios were the same for each of these precincts.

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[12]Problems of comparability would be considerably simplified in a study that drew upon a citywide sample. The use of precinct samples was recommended by other interests and work carried out for the President's Commissions at the level of the precinct.

TABLE 2-9

OFFENSES AGAINST BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND NONRESIDENTS OF PRECINCT TABULATED IN FBI OFFENDER MOBILITY SURVEY

Class of Offense	Number of Offenses				Number Business Establishments[a]				Number Nonresident[b]			
	Precinct				Precinct				Precinct			
	6	10	14	Total	6	10	14	Total	6	10	14	Total
Homicide	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Rape	-	4	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Robbery	21	48	12	81	6	7	3	16	-	10	6	16
Aggravated assault	12	39	32	83	-	-	-	-	3	5	6	14
Burglary	15	46	18	79	3	22	6	31	-	-	-	--
Larceny	14	34	33	81	9	16	15	40	1	11	8	20
Auto theft	12	7	19	38	5	6	8	19	-	1	-	1
Total, Index Classes	74	178	118	370	23	51	32	106	4	27	22	53
Per cent of Index Classes	100	100	100	100	31	29	27	29	5	15	19	14

[a] 143 cases were counted as "nonbusiness" which were tabulated as "unknown" for this variable in the FBI Survey.

[b] 17 cases were counted as "resident" which were tabulated as "unknown" for this variable in the FBI Survey.

Further, complainant ages are given only for pickpocket and purse-snatching offenses, rather than all larcenies. This is not a severe limitation of the applicability of the police figure, since the survey incident larcenies included "Entire Household" incidents for which the victim age is rarely relevant. Since persons under 18 years of age are probably less frequently victims of pocketpicking and purse-snatching than of all larcenies, applying the police figure to all larcenies is presumably a conservative correction. An additional complication involving larcenies stemmed from police reporting of these in the categories "$100 and over" and "Under $100," rather than the $50 uniform reporting cutoff. Data on Washington, D. C. in the Uniform Crime Report, 1965 were used to apportion larcenies into Index and non-Index classes to permit application of the FBI Mobility Survey for adjustment.

As can be seen in Table 2-9, the frequencies of incidents in the FBI Mobility Survey are too small to permit reliable extrapolation by both class of offense and precinct. We can apply corrections for the proportion of offenses that were against businesses either for all Index offenses in a given precinct, or for a given class of offense for all 3 precincts. The former is the preferable procedure where comparisons between precincts are important; the latter where the over-all results of the survey procedure are the focus.

Apportioning larcenies.--Table 2-10 shows the distribution, by precinct for Index classes, of Actual Offenses Reported to the police as given in the 1965 Annual Report of the Metropolitan Police, after larcenies have been apportioned on the basis of the citywide ratio of Index to non-Index thefts. In Worksheet C the 3 precinct totals for each class have been subjected to successive corrections for comparability with the survey-derived estimates.

TABLE 2-10

ACTUAL INDEX OFFENSES REPORTED TO THE POLICE BY PRECINCT

Class of Offense	Precinct			Total	Entire City
	6	10	14		
Criminal homicide	1	15	10	26	177
Rape	8	18	20	46	159
Robbery	196	681	205	1082	3945
Assault	75	295	87	457	2474
Burglary	609	1154	411	2174	9309
Larceny-$50 and over[a]	152	328	125	605	3386
Auto theft	282	534	565	1381	5736
Total	1323	3025	1423	5771	25186

[a]Apportioned from total larcenies on data for city in Uniform Crime Report, 1965, p. 176.

WORKSHEET C
CORRECTIONS FOR AGE, RESIDENCE AND BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS OF "ACTUAL OFFENSES REPORTED" BY INDEX AND PART I CLASS--COMBINED DATA FOR THREE PRECINCTS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Class	Number of Actual Offenses Reported	Correction for Offenses Against Business Establishment[a]	Estimated Non-business Victims	Correction of Non-business for Age[b]	Estimated Of-Age Resident Victims	Correction for Non-residents	Estimated Of-Age Resident Victims
Murder	40	-	40	.10	36	1.00	-
Manslaughter	(3)	-	(3)	-	(3)	-	(3)
Rape	57	-	57	.34	38	.14	33
Robbery	895	.20	716	.13	623	.20	498
Aggravated assault	560	-	560	.10	504	.17	418
Burglary	1937	.39	1182	-	1182	-	1182
Larceny							
$50 and over[c]	796	.49	406	.08	374	.25	281
(Under $50)	1616	(-)[d]	1616	(.08)	1487	(-)[d]	1487
Auto theft	1193	.50	597	-	597	.03	579
All Index Classes	5481		3561		3357		2994
(All Part I Classes)	7104		5177		4844		4481

[a] Data from FBI Mobility Survey

[b] Per cent of victims under 17 years; D. C.--wide figure of age of complainants used for each class.

[c] Based on per cent reported in Uniform Crime Reports--1965. Police report gives data only for $100 and over and under $100.

[d] No data available.

Adjusting for offenses against businesses.--First, for robberies, burglaries, larcenies and auto thefts--offenses that may involve business establishments as victims--the proportion of such offenses listed in the FBI survey as involving businesses is deducted. This yields for each class (Column 3) an estimated frequency of offenses involving individuals or residences as victims.

Adjusting for age.--Next, corrections are made for age applicable to each class of offense for the city as a whole. Since both burglaries and auto thefts are always considered "Entire-Household" offenses in our procedure, these offenses need not be corrected. (This is fortunate since no data on age of complainants or victims are available for them.) The per cent of Column 3 estimated as under 17 years of age is deducted.

Adjusting for residence.--Lastly, from estimated frequencies of the of-age, nonbusiness victims in Column 5, a proportion of such victims is deducted that is estimated to be nonresidents of the precinct.

In-precinct offenses against residents.--The final column (Column 7) is an estimate of offenses against residents of the precinct occurring in the precinct of residence. This quantity is directly comparable to the estimates of offenses developed from our respondents' reports of recent in-precinct victimization, presented in Worksheet B, above.

Before examining these comparisons, let us approach the corrections of police data by precinct for all Index classes rather than, as has just been done, by specific class for all 3 precincts. The steps are shown in Worksheet D.

WORKSHEET D
CORRECTION FOR AGE, RESIDENCE AND BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS OF "ACTUAL OFFENSES REPORTED" BY PRECINCT FOR INDEX CLASSES

Precinct	"Actual" Index Offenses	Less Business Victims	Non-business Victims	Corrected for Age	Of-Age Nonbusiness Victims	Corrected for Non-resident	Estimated Of-Age Resident Victims
6	1322	.31	912	.11	812	.05	771
10	2695	.29	1913	.11	1703	.15	1448
13				.11		.11	
14	1464	.27	1054	.11	938	.19	760
3-Precinct Total	5481		3879		3453		2979

They are identical to those in Worksheet C, except now the values for offenses involving business establishments and nonresidents are taken from the totals for columns of Table 2-9, rather than the rows. In comparison with Worksheet C, the latter procedure results in a smaller reduction for business victimization. This is primarily because larcenies figure in larger proportion in the FBI survey figures than in the police tabulations. The discrepancies are offset by the later corrections for age and residence, however, so that the resulting totals for all Index classes for the 3 precincts are almost identical in both Worksheets.

Gross discrepancy of survey and police offense estimates.--The final totals on Worksheets C and D--estimated number of Index offenses against residents of the 3 precincts aged 17.4 years or over which occurred in the precinct of current residence--are the incidence estimates most comparable to estimates derived from the interviewing survey (Worksheet B).

The survey-based estimate for the 3 precincts is over five times the magnitude of that derived from the police statistics when all in-precinct Index offenses are considered--15,600 offenses as compared with about 3,000.

Discrepancy for reported offenses.--A considerable discrepancy between the survey estimates and police statistics was anticipated because of offenses not reported or otherwise known to the police. But relatively little (slightly over one-fourth) of in-precinct victimization by Index offenses went unreported, according to our survey respondents. Consequently, even when only the totals for offenses reported to the police are considered, the survey based estimate is about four times as great as that derived from the police statistics. The smallest estimate of reported in-precinct offenses derived from the survey for any one of the 3 precincts is of greater magnitude than the total estimated from police data for all 3 precincts.

Simplistic Comparisons

A great number of steps and some extraneous sources of data are involved in the foregoing attempt to restrict attention to those types of incidents for which the greatest comparability exists between police data and the data from the survey--namely, Index and other Part I offenses against adult residents of the precincts occurring in the precinct of residence. Each correctional step involves additional sources of potential error.

The extravagant differences found between the frequency of citizen victimization revealed by the sample survey and that suggested by the police report are clearly not attributable to error involved in the adjustments

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of police data, however. This can be shown dramatically by a simplistic statistical comparison between the two bases of estimation--one that neglects altogether the known inclusion in the police statistics of offenses against children, business establishments and nonresidents. This involves calculating from the police figures a rate per thousand of-age residents of these precincts for all "Actual Offenses Reported" to the police. From these rates, an "expected" number of offenses among a sample of residents of the size of our survey is specified, making the assumption (we know is untrue) that all offenses reported to the police involved adult, private residents of the precinct.

Table 2-11 presents such rates and expected values for Part I classes (with low-frequency classes combined into one category) and for all Index classes combined. Completely unadjusted totals of offenses from the police table are used to calculate the rates. "Entire-Household" type reports from the survey are reduced to offense-equivalents by the procedure described earlier.

For all Index classes, the survey yielded over three times as many offenses as would be predicted even with crimes against children, businesses and nonresidents being included in police data, but excluded from survey estimates.

Automobile theft is the only sizable class for which the survey-derived estimate is even within a "ball-park" order of magnitude.[13]

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[13]Assuming a Poisson distribution a number of auto thefts as great or greater in a sample of this size has a probability of .11 if the true rate of occurence in the population is that based on the police figure and 1964 population estimates. The survey frequencies for all other classes have probabilities of less than .001

TABLE 2-11

NUMBER OF OFFENSES FOR PART I CLASSES EXPECTED IN SAMPLE (N=511) ON BASIS OF RATES REPORTED BY POLICE AND ACTUAL OBSERVED IN SAMPLE SURVEY OF RESIDENTS--UNADJUSTED POLICE DATA

Class	Police Data Rate 1000 Residents 17.4 Years or Over	Number of Offenses	
		Expected in Sample	Actual in Sample[a]
Part I violent crimes[b]	9.3	5	15
Burglary	11.6	6	19
Larceny, all	14.4	7	40
Auto theft	7.1	4	6
All Part I	42.5	22	80
All Index Classes (Estimated)[c]	32.8	17	55

[a]Corrected for number of mature individuals per household; 45 per cent of number of "Entire-Household" incidents of victimization reported by respondent.

[b]Homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault.

[c]Based on extrapolation of proportion of larcenies in city being over $50 as reported in 1965 UCR.

Burglary has the smallest discrepancy of the other classes, but here the "small" difference (over three times the "expected" value) is in part due to the conservative reduction of the offense estimate from the actual number of incidents mentioned for assumed "Entire-Household" mentions.

Table 2-12 shows the magnitudes of the expected number of offenses that would occur in a sample of 511 adults, employing the adjustments of police data for residents, age, and businesses that were described earlier.

TABLE 2-12

NUMBER OF OFFENSES FOR PART I CLASSES EXPECTED IN SAMPLE (N=511) ON BASIS OF RATES REPORTED BY POLICE AND ACTUAL OBSERVED IN SAMPLE SURVEY OF RESIDENTS--POLICE DATA ADJUSTED FOR AGE, RESIDENCE AND BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS

Class	Police Data Rate/ 1000 Residents 17.4 Years or Over	Number of Offenses	
		Expected in Sample	Actual in Sample[a]
Part I violent crimes[b]	5.7	3	15
Burglary	7.1	4	19
Larceny ($50 and over)	1.7	1	15
Larceny (Under $50)	8.9	5	25
Auto theft	3.5	2	6
All Part I	26.8	15	80
All Index Clases (Estimated)[c]	17.9	9	55

[a]Corrected for number of mature individuals per household; 45 per cent of number of "Entire-Household" incidents of victimization reported by respondent.

[b]Homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

[c]Based on extrapolation of proportion of larcenies in city being over $50 as reported in 1965 UCR.

As in the previous case, we find that auto theft is by far the least discrepant class of offense. The sample yielded over five times the expected number of Part I offenses and six times the number of Index offenses.

Part II Classes

Since it appears that the admitted nonreporting of offenses to the police by citizens accounts for only a small proportion of the differences between survey-derived estimates and those from police statistics, we are obliged to look elsewhere in the police data for the volume of reports of victimization citizens claim they make to the police. One possibility is that the police apply more severe evidential tests to the testimony of the citizen regarding the nature of the event and that, for certain types of incidents, a report that would be classed here as a Part I offense on the basis of the victim's description would be more judiciously classed as a Part II offense. Examples are aggravated assault being classed as simple assault, or events described in terms of robberies being classed as larcenies or other assaults.

Even with no correction for the unknown proportions that certainly involve business establishments, nonresidents, children, and mutual victimization, the Part II classes reported in the police statistics, however, involve far too few incidents to account for much of the discrepancy between the survey-derived offense estimates and the offense incidence estimated from police data.

In Table 2-13, all the survey estimates are compared with the number of "Actual Reported Offenses" in these precincts, including Part I classes, and Part II classes that are definitionally equivalent to those encompassed in our survey.[14]

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[14]To the Part II classes should be added certain traffic charges that were accepted as incidents of victimization in the survey--leaving after colliding. Since the police report carries only 63 such offenses for all 3 precincts, neglecting them for the moment involves only approximately a 1 per cent omission.

Certain classes of offense are quite unabiguously irrelevant to individual citizen victimization and have not been counted. These are drug law violations, gambling, liquor law violations, and fugitives

TABLE 2-13

ALL ACTUAL VICTIM OFFENSES REPORTED IN POLICE ANNUAL REPORT COMPARED WITH SURVEY ESTIMATES OF OFFENSES AGAINST RESIDENTS OF PRECINCT OCCURRING IN PRECINCT

	Precinct			Total 3 Precincts
	6	10	14	
Actual offenses reported[a]	2,040	4,003	1,948	7,991
Survey estimates of "In-precinct" offenses known to the police[b]	4,800	7,100	5,100	17,000
Survey estimate of all "In-precinct" offenses[b]	9,400	13,200	8,800	31,400

[a]Uncorrected for residence, age or offenses against corporate entities. Exclusively "no victim" offenses not counted--i.e. weapons, prostitution, drug laws, gambling, liquor laws, vagrancy, fugitive, and "all other offenses."

[b]Offenses against residents 17.4 years of age or more occurring in precinct of residence.

For offenses survey respondents said were reported to the police, the discrepancy between survey estimates and the police report totals is only very slightly reduced, even with no adjustments whatsoever of the raw police figures. The survey figure is still more than twice the "Actual Offenses Reported" (Table 2-13).

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from justice. Stolen property offenses involve ambiguity in that some of our respondents claim they were innocent buyers of what they later learned was stolen property. Here, the adjustment can be made by eliminating the survey incidents of this type to permit deleting the entire category from the comparisons. Examination of the specific types of offenses categorized under the "all other offenses" class of the police report revealed that none involved citizen victimization. From information on complainants, sex offenses, other than rape and prostitution, could partially be assigned to mutual victimization. These adjustments have not been made, however. The full police frequency is retained.

In the case of Part II classes, the nonreporting of incidents makes a bigger difference. When comparisons of unadjusted police data and survey estimates are made for all classes of offenses, whether or not reported to the police, the survey estimate of incidence is about 4 times the police figure.

Nonoffense Categories

Some of the incidents reported to the police by citizens interviewed in this survey may have been recorded by the police so that they are summarized in the Annual Report in tables other than those dealing with offenses known. Thus, "disorderly conduct" is not a category of the table of actual offenses. Although it might be subsumed under the category "all other offenses," there are many more cases of "disorderly conduct" listed in the table on "Charges" than there are in this category of the "Actual Offenses" table.

Another table of the police report presents frequencies of "Miscellaneous Incidents Investigated." These are reports of "noncriminal" events receiving police attention. Of the categories of such incidents, some might have involved incidents which citizens regarded as criminal victimizations. Two classes of "Incidents Investigated" involving injuries are relevant: "fighting (injury)," and "shooting, stabbing or assault."[15]

[15]An incidental observation attendant to this step was that of apparent major shifts in police recording or reporting practices in the precincts we studied and in the city as a whole. One of these changes was the apparent wholesale abandonment of the "Miscellaneous Incidents Investigated" tabulation in the case of fights and assaults to the "Offenses Known" table. Some shifting of these incidents may have taken place. In the FY 1965 report, the department listed 2,409 incidents of "Fighting (Injury)"; in FY 1966, only 217 such incidents, considerably less than one-tenth as many. In the

An additional two appear under the categories "Miscellaneous Incidents": "Mental Observation" and "Complaints."

With the addition of the motor vehicle law violations mentioned earlier, our inspection revealed no other categories in the police report which might encompass the types of victimization reported in the survey. The frequencies for these categories are shown in Table 2-14.

Clearly, many if not most of the disorderly charges and miscellaneous incidents investigated are not incidents of individual citizen victimization of the type accepted by our survey classifications. For the charges, presumably more than one person may have been charged as a result of the same incidents, presenting an analogous problem of deriving an offense equivalent to that of our multiple-victim incidents reports in the survey. Where victims might have been involved, their residence doubtless was not always in the precinct. Conceivably, there is some overlap between these categories and cases entered in the Actual Offenses table.

Nonetheless, even if all of the frequencies of these entries in the police report are added to the totals of Actual Offenses Reported, the resulting totals still fall far short of the in-precinct offense estimates derived from the survey. The comparisons are shown in Table 2-15.

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remaining other assault-type incident category, "Shooting, Stabbing, or Assault (No Fight)," the decrease from FY 1965 to FY 1966 was from 850 to 95. Aggravated Assault, along with Larceny and Rape, were the Part I Offense Classes that showed increases from the first to the second of these years, while other major crime categories declined. The District of Columbia Crime Commission traced an increase in larceny reporting in large measure to use of "Offense" reports, rather than the "Miscellaneous Complaint" form and other changes in recording larcenies in a few precincts which more than doubled the number of larcenies they reported in the second year.

TABLE 2-14

ENTRIES IN POLICE ANNUAL REPORT POSSIBLY[a]
REPRESENTING VICTIMIZATION INCIDENTS
BY PRECINCT

Entry Classification	Number of Entries			
	Precinct			Total 3 Precincts
	6	10	14	
Actual Offenses Reported:				
Part I classes	1,818	3,510	1,776	7,104
Part II classes	222	493	172	887
Charges:				
Disorderly conduct[b]	730	1,980	1,371	4,081
Miscellaneous Incidents-Injuries:				
Fighting (injury)	7	19	4	30
Shooting, stabbing or assault (no fight)	2	11	3	16
Miscellaneous Incidents--Misc.:				
Mental observation	53	91	23	167
Complaints	48	161	117	326
Motor Vehicle Law Violations:				
Leaving after colliding	13	11	23	47
Total Entries	2,893	6,276	3,489	12,658

[a]Exclusively "no victim" offenses were not counted--i.e., weapons, prostitution, drug laws, gambling, liquor laws, vagrancy, fugitive from justice.

[b]This is an offender count, not an offense count as in the UCR system.

TABLE 2-15

COMPARISON OF SURVEY ESTIMATE OF REPORTED IN-PRECINCT OFFENSES AND SUM OF FREQUENCIES ALL POSSIBLY RELEVANT ENTRIES IN POLICE ANNUAL REPORT

	Precinct			Total
	6	10	14	
Survey-derived estimate of offenses reported to the police; victim resident of precinct of offense	4,800	7,100	5,100	17,000
Actual offenses[a] and other police report entries[b] that may have involved victimization	2,893	6,276	3,489	12,658

[a]Excludes: Weapons (carrying and possessing), prostitution, drug laws, gambling, liquor laws, vagrancy, and fugitive, only. Includes offenses against nonresidents, organizations, children, and in unknown proportion, offenses with no specific victim.

[b]See Table 2-14.

D. Comparison With 13th Precinct Results

Method or "True Rate" Differences

In conducting the study in the 13th Precinct, a modification of procedure was instituted. This involved eliciting details regarding incidents of victimization only after brief "yes or no" responses to the check list of offenses had been obtained. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, this modification was expected to encourage more exhaustive reporting and, indeed, a much higher victimization rate was obtained in the interviews completed in this precinct. For several reasons it is difficult to go beyond surmise in deciding how much of this higher rate is due to changes in the interviewing procedure and how much to possible real differences of incidence.

Sources of Noncomparability

In police statistics, 13th Precinct has a markedly higher volume of offenses than do any of the 3 precincts studied originally, as shown in Table 2-16. This incidence is particularly great in view of the fact that the 13th Precinct has a much smaller population than any of the others.

TABLE 2-16

ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE IN FOUR PRECINCTS

Actual Offenses Known	Precincts			
	6	10	14	13
Part I Offenses	1,818	3,510	1,776	3,611
Part II Offenses	530	1,393	1,597	1,849
Total	2,348	4,903	3,373	5,460

The precinct is also distinctive in other respects that stem from its areas being in the main closer to the centers of business activity of the city. One special feature of this precinct--its inclusion in its western section of a substantial portion of the foreign missions and residences of members of the diplomatic community--led to the exclusion of this entire census tract from the program of the interviewing. An estimated 6 per cent of the precinct population lives in this tract. Since the entire territory of the precinct was not included in the survey and since compilations of police offense data are unavailable for geographical units smaller than the precinct, comparisons of survey derived estimates of and those based on police statistics are not as readily performed for the 13th Precinct as for the other precincts.

An additional complication in such comparisons inheres in the 13th Precinct respondents' reporting a lower proportion of all incidents of victimization as offenses that became known to the police.

A slight depression of 13th Precinct rates might also derive from our use of incidents of the four quarters of the 1966 Fiscal Year as the basis for estimates rather than, as in the case of the 3-precinct study, three FY 1966 quarters and the last quarter of the preceding fiscal year. Data of the Metropolitan Police Department showed a pronounced decline in the average number of major offenses--particularly burglary and robbery--during the last half of the 1966 Fiscal Year. This, the Department claimed, was a product of saturation patrolling and the innovation of the Tactical Force. The distribution of the incidents developed in this survey cannot be used as a check on these trends because of the effects of recall that have been discussed.

It is altogether possible that residents of the 13th Precinct are more frequently victims of offenses than are those of the other districts. The change in data collection procedure also may have contributed to the higher frequency of victimization reports. The design of the two studies has not provided a certain basis for evaluating the latter effect. It is our impression that it was a pronounced one--an impression derived from the consistency with which this higher rate obtained among all the interviews conducted in this precinct despite variations in time and place, by the higher frequency of mention of minor incidents and incidents not reported to the police, and by the much lower frequencies in the contiguous, and in many respects similar, 10th Precinct.

A more promising approach toward separating the effects of "true rates" and interviewing procedure would involve comparative analysis of the data of the surveys, rather than comparisons with police statistics. In future analyses of these data, we intend to examine the variations of victimization reports among respondents inhabiting various ecologically defined areas and among respondents with similar social and economic characteristics.

Our tabulation of incidents of victimization reported by 13th Precinct residences also differed slightly from that used earlier. More stringent criteria were applied to delete incidents that might not have been judged as offenses by police officers or which were difficult to compare with police figures which combined victim and no-victim types of offenses. Thus, in the 13th Precinct, all incidents which might have been classed as disorderly conduct or public nuisance, receiving stolen

property, slander, offenses involving use of automobiles and miscellaneous others were omitted. In all, about 15 per cent of the incidents reported by 13th Precinct residents were excluded from estimations that would have been counted as victimizations using the criteria employed in the 3-precinct survey.

All of these factors contaminate an attempt to assess the effects of the methodological change by determining whether the survey-derived estimates of victimization exceed that derived from police offense statistics to a greater degree than was observed in the 3-precinct survey. We did apply to the 13th Precinct data the steps used in the 3-precinct survey to derive estimated offense rates and to compare them with adjusted and unadjusted offense rates computed from police statistics. In the case of the 13th Precinct data, however, the data were uncorrected for the various elements of noncomparability with the earlier procedure noted above. In addition, we assumed that the census tract of the precinct in which we had not interviewed had zero crime incidence, since no direct estimation of its absolute or relative crime incidence could be derived. In effect, we neglected these several factors known to give us an artificially low estimation of the 13th Precinct offense rates in comparison with that for the other three precincts. If the 13th Precinct survey-derived estimates nonetheless exceeded police totals in greater degree than observed in the 3-precinct survey, this would be inconsistent with the hypotheses that the high victimization rate in the 13th was due to the higher incidence suggested by police statistics.

The results were somewhat ambiguous. Considering reported Index offenses only, the survey estimate of such in-precinct offenses against

residents deviates more in the positive direction from the total of Index offenses in police statistics in comparison with the deviation of only one of the other 3 precincts. This is shown in Table 2-17.

TABLE 2-17

TWO-SURVEY METHODS COMPARED FOR INDEX OFFENSES: DESCREPANCY OF SURVEY ESTIMATES OF REPORTED IN-PRECINCT: OFFENSES AGAINST RESIDENTS WITH ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE: INDEX CLASSES ONLY

	3-Precincts	13th Precinct
Actual offenses known[a]	5,771	3,147
Survey-derived estimate	11,300	5,500

[a]All larcenies adjusted from citywide ratios of Index to Nonindex larceny.

The same result obtains if all Part I classes are considered, although because nonreporting of offenses tends to be somewhat more pronounced in the 13th for small value larcenies, the discrepancy is not as pronounced as in the case of estimated Index offenses. The 10th Precinct--which is proximate to the 13th and most resembles it in rates computed from police data--is the precinct with the lower discrepancy of police and survey-derived estimates.

When all classes of offenses are considered, or when the various adjustments of police data for businesses and nonresidence are attempted, the results in all of the first 3 precincts studied were proportionately larger relative to police data than were the corresponding estimates from the 13th Precinct procedure.

We were therefore unable to reject on this basis the possibility that the relatively high reporting of victimization by 13th Precinct respondents was due to the higher incidence manifest in police statistics for this precinct.

Summary of 13th Precinct Data

Of the 282 respondents interviewed in the 13th Precinct, 223, or 79 per cent, reported one or more incidents of victimization. In the 3-precinct survey, the corresponding percentage was only 59 per cent. A much greater percentage of the respondents reported multiple incidents in the 13th Precinct that in the previous pilot study. With the assumptions discussed in connection with Table 2-7, the 13th Precinct data suggest a more realistic incidence of multiple victimization, that is, some risk clustering.

Using the period from July 1965 through June 1966 as the basis, a gross victimization rate of .75 per year was found for these respondents. This compares with .38 in the first three precincts studied. If only the most recent six-month period is considered, an annual rate 29 per cent greater than this figure results.

Thus, even though about one out of five of the residents interviewed claimed never to have been a victim of any crime at any time in their lives, the projected rates from the most recent six-month period suggest that the number of victimizations of adults during the course of a year is about equal to the number of adults living in this area.

Certain classes of incidents, as mentioned above, were excluded from subsequent tabulations reported here in that they were of a type that it was felt might not be represented in police offense data. These

included disorderly conduct, offenses said to have been committed by police officers, selling stolen goods, and slander or defamation, and victimization by a hit-and-run driver. With these excluded, the gross victimization rate for the precinct is .68 per year.

When incidents reported are translated to offenses by the same procedure as discussed with regard to the data from the 3-precinct study, this victimization rate is taken as representing an equivalent offense rate of .47. The corresponding rate in the first 3 precincts was .23. About 59 per cent of all incidents were described as having been reported to the police.

Considering Part I classes only, the victimization rate for the 13th Precinct was .43, with the quivalent offense rate being .28. For Index classes, the offense rate estimate is .24. Since about 60 per cent of the Index classes are said to have been reported to the police, the estimated equivalent in police statistics to the data from the survey would be a rate of approximately 15,000 offenses per 100,000 of population. (This is a slightly more than four-and-a-half times the UCR rate for the city of Washington--a rate which includes offenses against businesses, children, and nonresidents.)

While about one-fourth of the incidents occurred outside of the 13th Precinct, the majority of these are accounted for by victimization of recent migrants to the precinct in the vicinity of their former residence. As a consequence, when victimization in the precinct is considered alone, the total victimization rate is reduced only about 12 per cent, and the Part I and Index rates are hardly lower at all than when victimization is counted regardless of place.

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E. Discussion

Survey-Oriented Comparisons

Various steps could be taken to render the 13th Precinct data more comparable with those from the 3-precinct study to make the foregoing type of test less biased in the direction of a low estimation of 13th Precinct rates. The steps have not been taken because the results in both the 3-precinct survey and that in the 13th Precinct suggest there is little validity in evaluating survey results on victimization by using police statistics for the precincts as an estimate of a "true rate."

Conceptually and operationally, there are very great difficulties in translating police data into probabilities of citizen victimization in a manner consistent with valid comparison with survey results. Citizen reports to interviewers in these precincts, furthermore, yield rates of victimization so much greater in order of magnitude relative to police statistics as to suggest that the universe of events the two kinds of data share in common may be small relative to that which is represented in one and not the other. Lastly, and most compelling, are the results in the 3-precinct study in which only very small variation was found in survey victimization rates despite very great variation from precinct to precinct in per capita offense rates computed from police statistics. Thus, police report tables yield an incidence of Part I offenses per adult resident about one and a half times that of the 14th Precinct. Yet the former precinct has precisely the same Part I offense rate as the 14th in survey

reports. Computed from police data, the 13th Precinct rate exceeds that of the 10th in the same proportion as the latter exceeds the 14th. In our survey results, however, the 13th Precinct respondents reported Part I victimization twice as frequently as did respondents in the 10th or in the other precincts of the pilot study.

Victim Risk Indicators: Survey and Police Rates Compared

The major burdens confronted in the rate estimation discussed in this chapter have been those of adjusting the data on victimization developed in the survey to provide comparability with police data. Indeed, major aspects of the design of the interview itself were adapted to the same fundamental objective. It is consequently significant in evaluating the usefulness of the survey method as the basis for developing statistical indicators of crime to note that the first, and most directly derived rate estimate from the survey in the preceding discussion was a simple victim risk rate. This is the rate on line 3 of Worksheet A, which was derived by simply dividing the number of reported incidents of victimization by the number of respondents in the sample.

The Crime Index presented by the UCR, according to its compilers, ". . . for practical purposes, should be considered as a victim risk rate." In many respects, however, it serves poorly as such a rate.

The "Dark Figure"

1. Reporting by public.--First of all, the Crime Rate is a rate of reports of police recorded offenses to estimated population. The offenses known to police derive in the main from citizen reports. The

evidence from this survey indicates that the ratio of reports to actual victimization varies greatly among the Index Classes. Excluding murder and rape, for which too few cases are available for calculation, the percentage of offenses victims claimed were known to the police varied from 92 per cent for auto theft to about 70 per cent for larceny. The rate, hence, does not provide an index of the relative chances of victimization of various classes of crime. For the UCR Crime Index as a whole, there is further considerable variation in the ratio of reported to unreported offenses even among the fairly similar police districts in this one city; the observed range being from 60 per cent reported by 13th Precinct residents to 75 per cent reported in the 10th. The observed variation in the ratios of reported to unreported victimization incidents among various classes of offenses and from place to place, furthermore, suggests that the ratio will also vary over time. This would limit the utility of crime rates for its most publicized use; namely as a measure of increases or decreases of the hazards of victimization.

Biderman[16] discusses a variety of converging factors attendant to current social change leading on the balance to continually more complete reporting of victimization by citizens to the police. He posited this as leading to an expectation of continual, spurious increases in the Crime Index. In this survey, however, to the extent that respondents' testimony regarding reporting can be accepted on its face, only a relatively small proportion of citizen victimization by Index offenses remains unknown to the police--only about 25 - 40 per cent of all incidents in 3 of these precincts. Hence, it is extremely unlikely that variations of the total crime rate in any major way (say, more than 5 per cent in a year) would be due to fluctuations in citizen reporting. For example,

[16]Albert D. Biderman "Social Indicators and Goals" in Raymond A. Baner (ed.), Social Indicators. (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press 1966.)

a 10 per cent decrease in nonreporting by citizens would only affect the Crime Rate by 2.5 to 4 per cent. This is less true of larceny alone, and presumably of rape, for which nonreporting is more common.

2. Reporting by police.--A much greater potential source of spurious change, judging from the results of the present survey, are the reporting practices of the police. The data here indicate that the incidents reported by the police as Index offenses in their published statistics are a minor fraction of all those reported by citizens to them as such. In these incidents, the citizen is a victim of an event which he describes as involving elements making-up at least the "common sense" definition of a crime of an Index class. Thus, clearly, it is a police perspective of the event, not the victim's perspective, that determines whether victimization has occurred. "Victim risk" is in this way not applicable to subjectively meaningful calculations by members of the public. This may be illustrated dramatically by the difference between telling a woman: "The way things are going now, there is only about once chance in 5,000 that you will be raped this year," and telling her the same thing, but adding ". . . and that the investigating officers will believe your story (or a witness, if there is one) and report the fact to their department and that there, in turn, no one will discount their report."

The results of this survey suggest that even small, directional changes in the crediting and counting of citizen reports by the police will have major consequences for the Crime Index in these jurisdictions. A change in which 2 per cent more of citizen complaints were recorded would increase the Crime Rate by perhaps 8 per cent.

In the article mentioned above, Biderman also suggests that trends are predominantly in the direction of increased police reporting. In this same connection, it is possible that publicity attendant to the sponsorship by the Crime Commission of surveys to explore the problem of unreported crime and preliminary releases of the results of these surveys in themselves may carry implicit criticisms of police statistical practices and, thereby, lead to measures in law enforcement agencies to prevent "killing crimes" on the books. It is likely that mass media portrayals of the "crime crisis," on the balance, increase rather than decrease the incentives of police departments toward full and accurate depiction of known offenses in their statistics. Citizens fully anticipate being told that crime is increasing in their particular locality because they are told it is increasing everywhere. In the main, they are unlikely to blame any increases reported on law enforcement officials. Indeed, a large number of law enforcement officials are avowing currently that offenses are becoming more frequent and clearances infrequent because of the restrictions court decisions have placed upon them. In the event that statistical reporting by a police agency is distorted in a manner rendering it more consistent with public relations objectives of the agency, the distortions currently would be expected to go in the opposite direction from alleged manipulations of the past by which individual officers or departments sought to avoid "looking bad."

Some policemen contend that an aspect of the political climate operates in the opposite direction--that is to decreased reporting. Agitation regarding the civil rights of suspects and effects of court decisions on the ability of police to develop evidence for charges and to make charges stick, it is suggested, lead officers to make no report at all where they

can take no effective action or where taking action involves the risk of an allegation of misconduct. In Washington, where this is permitted, the only report of an investigation may be that of "No report necessary."

In either event, we are confronted with problems of interpretation because of many factors precluding the assumption that there is a constant ratio between reported and unreported offenses. The "dark figure" may swell or shrink from year to year.

Victim Counts Versus Event Counts

A second serious deficiency of the UCR Crime Rate as a "victim risk rate" that the survey method brings sharply to focus is that most of the units of victimization from which it is calculated are not individual persons. For the property crimes, the offense units which are the numerator for the rate can involve the victimization of one individual, several individuals, or some property-owning collectivity--a household, a supermarket chain, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, a city, or the federal government.

Use of offenses as units for constructing a "victim risk rate" presents many insuperable difficulties. The difficult and sometimes arbitrary corrections and adjustments that were performed on the data of the present survey to render them comparable to police offense rates are due precisely to these difficulties. The logic of the survey method is such as to yield directly a victim count. The police data on which the UCR rate is based are not oriented to victims but rather to the transactions of law violators. For the purposes of a victim risk rate, the adjustments of the survey data to render them comparable to police data detract rather than add meaning; for example, adjustments for incidents involving business, organizational or household property.

To form a victim risk rate from counts of offenses, one must make the same adjustments in the reverse direction. In addition, complexities of law and of property relationship; ambiguities arising in some cases of unsuccessful attempts at crime; variations in size and composition of household would beset any attempt at estimating the number of persons victimized by a given number of offenses. By accepting the respondent's own definition of himself as a victim or nonvictim, the survey method can avoid these difficulties. It can also ascertain and scale the person's expressions of the severity of his victimization in objective and subjective terms as a basis for weightings of "victim risk rates."

Rate Denominators

The police statistics comprising the UCR present a further difficulty as a victim risk rate in that they are derived from a given jurisdiction. Inhabitants of a jurisdiction, however, are subject to the risk of victimization at times when they are outside of it and some of the victimization that takes place in a jurisdiction is against non-inhabitants. Thus, residents of a jurisdiction in which a volume of crime is committed against transients are ill-informed of their risk by a UCR type of rate. In this regard, as well, the adjustments made of survey data for victimization outside of area of residence to render them comparable with police data detract from their value for forming victim risk estimates.

The latter difficulty of UCR Crime Rates as a "victim risk rate" points to another type of invalidity if has for such a purpose. This is the inappropriateness of the units which form its denominator, as apart from the problems previously discussed which have involved its numerator.

The Crime Rate is an arbitrary indicator analogous to such other commonly used ones as telephones per capita, where per capita is used as an arbitrary magnitude scale, rather than a risk rate where the denominator is comprised of the population at risk. From offense data, the murder rate would be such a fraction, but not a burglary or larceny rate. For the latter, the population at risk expands, for example, with the growth of the number of vending machines as well as the growth of population. Indeed, it may well be the case that each newly produced vending machine stands a much greater chance of being a victim of a larceny (or burglary, as the definition may be) at some time during its "life" than does each newborn babe. This is certainly true for the first few years of the respective lives at risk of vending machines and babes. For property crimes, a risk rate based on offense data would have to be computed either on the basis of units of property (e.g. ratio of value of criminally misappropriated, destroyed or damaged property to total value of property at risk) or in relation to a population of ownership units.

Person crimes, while more appropriately treated in per capita terms, present some problems because of unequal risk probabilities among age and sex categories. In particular, men should be excluded from victim and risk calculations for rape.

The survey method yields directly for any numerator of victimization a denominator of persons who can be defined in any desired terms as at risk to that type of victimization. It should also be noted that therefore rates estimated from a sample survey are not dependent on the accuracy of current estimates of the total size and composition of the population from which it is drawn, as are rates computed from police data. In an

area such as Washington which has a changing and mobile population and major current shifts in land use, intercensal data is still too slow in becoming available and to unrefined for small areas, such as police precincts, to provide reliable rate bases. The difficulty is compounded by the lack of congruence of police and census geographical divisions.

Difficulties of the Survey Method

In each of the respects discussed above, survey data fits more readily the concept "victim risk rate."

The difficulties of survey data as a basis for victim risk estimates are rather of three other kinds, namely,

1. the representativeness of the sample
2. the validity of respondents' reports
3. the need for fairly large samples and the costs of interviewing them.

F. Summary

The self-reports of crime victimization developed by our survey suggest an incidence of crime in these communities that is at least several times the magnitude indicated by police reports.

The estimates are very crude. They are based on a small sample. It is difficult to compare survey-based incidence estimates with police data. The statistical steps involve various possible types of error of estimation which have not been quantitatively stated. Nonetheless, we have full confidence that the import of the findings on crime incidence are valid. First, at each step of our analysis we have tended toward

resolving doubts in the direction of minimizing the magnitude of estimates from survey data and toward a maximum estimate of the comparable figures in police data. Secondly, we believe that our interviewing methods more often fail to uncover victimization among those interviewed rather than to overestimate it. Thirdly, we achieved results of roughly the same order of magnitude in our pretest interviewing, as set forth in the previous report of this project. Fourthly, the data on incidence are consistent in the several precincts where different interviewers were employed. Lastly, even an extreme amount of error in the direction of overestimation by our procedures would still not affect the following major findings:

The self-reports of victimization by citizens interviewed in their homes suggest a much higher incidence of crime than do police statistics, and further, nonreporting of offenses does not account for the major share of the vast discrepancy.

Implications

A facile but generally incorrect conclusion that might be attached to these findings is that crime is much more prevalent than has been supposed. In a literal sense such a conclusion is baseless. To our knowledge, there has not existed previously any basis for supposing any quantitative order of magnitude whatsoever for the incidence of most kinds of citizen victimization. Consequently, there is no extant comparable scale on which we can place the measure made in these four precincts and thereby say that there has been found either a great deal, a moderate amount, or very little victimization. We have no basis for

even guessing what a method such as ours would have yielded had it been applied in the same precincts one year ago or ten. Further, because we have been both hasty and innovational, our methods have been crude. We have some confidence that with greater experience and greater care, a yet larger volume of incidents would be reported by an equivalent sample. Indeed, the changed procedures employed in our supplemental survey in a fourth Washington precinct may have had that result.

The closest approach to a measure of "how much crime is going on" has thus far been actual offenses known to the police. In addition to its never having been expressed in victim terms, this index has many inadequacies. It is a function of what the offender does to the citizen and of what he and/or the police do about it.

Our data and our crude efforts to give them some comparability with police data suggest that the latter grossly underenumerate actual incidence. If we accept what our respondents say, the discrepancy presumably involves the police not reporting what people report to them in much greater degree than the nonreporting of offenses to the police by the public. The survey method used here is one approach to disentangling the three components of official crime statistics. More important, perhaps, it provides a more direct means of establishing values for the risk of victimization than do agency statistics as collected at present.

CHAPTER III

CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

A. Fear of Crime

The respondents believed that the crime problem in Washington is a serious problem, that it is growing worse and that it is of immediate concern to themselves. They are concerned about crime both on a general community level and as a problem of safety for themselves, their families and their possessions. The fear that harm might come to them or their families has a very considerable impact on the daily lives of the people we interviewed.

The consideration given to safety in making the decisions that most affect the nature of everyday life is illustrated in the part it plays in choosing a place to live. Respondents were asked whether they had thought more about the neighborhood or the house in deciding to locate where they did. The largest number said that the neighborhood was most important and nearly as many said that neighborhood and house were of equal importance. Only 31 per cent of those who thought they had a choice said that they had given primary consideration to the house. Although some respondents selected a location because of its convenience to employment, schools or other facilities and a few based their choice on the aesthetic qualities of an area, a majority had placed greatest emphasis on the safety and moral atmosphere of the neighborhood.

Having selected a residence which, within the limits of alternatives available to him, seemed to be in a relatively safe location, the typical respondent then felt more secure near his home than farther afield. This was true even of persons who lived in areas with relatively high crime rates. Respondents were asked to compare the chances of being robbed or getting beaten up in their own neighborhoods and other parts of the city. The majority thought their own neighborhoods were about average or very safe in that respect.

Not everyone was so secure, however. One-fifth thought that they were less safe near home than in other parts of the city or that they lived in an area that was one of the worst in town. Nearly as many said there was so much trouble in their neighborhoods that they would like to move if they could. A greater proportion thought there were at least some inhabitants of their own neighborhoods who create disturbances. Most of the remainder thought there were crimes committed by outsiders who came into the area.

Whether or not they feel relatively safe in their immediate environs, most persons believe that crime has been getting worse in Washington. In response to such a question three-fourths of the respondents said that crime is getting worse, 15 per cent that it is staying about the same and only 10 per cent thought that there was improvement. This pessimism was characteristic of persons of both races and sexes.

B. Anxiety and Vulnerability

A Measure of Anxiety

These items, safety as a criterion for residence selection, perception of personal danger in neighborhood, wanting to move to a safer

location, belief that neighbors create disturbances and a belief that crime is getting worse were combined to form an index of anxiety about crime. The index score reflects an individual's concern for his personal safety in his immediate surroundings and also a more generalized concern about the "crime situation." The responses to the items which form the index can be found in Table 3-1.

TABLE 3-1

RESPONSES TO ITEMS FORMING AN INDEX OF ANXIETY

Indices of Anxiety	%	N
1. What was it about the neighborhood that was most important? (For those who placed greatest emphasis on neighborhood in selecting residence.)		
Safety or moral characteristics. .	56	194
Convenience or aesthetic characteristics.	44	157
2. When you think about the chances of getting beaten up would you say this neighborhood is		
Very safe.	22	113
About average. . . .	56	283
Less safe than most.	18	89
One of worst	2	12
Don't know	2	12
3. Is there so much trouble that you would move if you could? (For those who did not characterize neighborhood as very safe.)		
Yes	24	89
No.	76	277
4. Are most of your neighbors quiet or are there some who create disturbances?		
All quiet.	69	348
Few disturbances . .	23	116
Many disturbances. .	8	40
5. Do you think that crime has been getting better or worse here in Washington during the past year?		
Better. . . .	10	50
Worse	75	373
Same	16	78

Analysis of the crime anxiety scores of the respondents suggests two major findings. First, although there is some rough correspondence between the objective vulnerability of broad categories of persons and their level of anxiety about crime, this correspondence is far from perfect. Second, it is apparent that the degree of anxiety about crime is not primarily a function of an individual's personal experience with crime. These findings, together with the evidence that many people view the remote situation as worse than that in their immediate surroundings, suggest that most people are basing their estimates of the gravity of the crime problem and its dangers to themselves primarily on factors other than their own circumstances and experiences.

Variation by Race

There nontheless may be one reflection in this measure of anxiety of the relative danger to various categories of persons. Generally, the Negroes who were interviewed exhibited more worry about crime than did the white respondents. Within each racial category, more women had high anxiety scores than men. The proportion in each category with high anxiety scores were: Negro men, 53 per cent; Negro women, 56 per cent; white men 29 per cent; and white women, 47 per cent. The greater concern exhibited by Negroes is consistent with the risks of victimization suggested by police statistics. An analysis of police records in Chicago, for example, indicates that Negroes are far more likely to be the victims of a serious offense against the person than are white persons.[1] There is no reason to believe that the figures by race are

[1]Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Probability of Victimization for Major Crimes Against the Person by Race and Sex Status of Victims and Offenders," A Report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice, Crime Statistics Series 6, 1966.

different in other cities even if the absolute magnitudes of victimization are not comparable. In that city the probability of victimization for rape, robbery, assault and battery was 391 per 10,000 Negro males, 276 per 10,000 Negro females, 64 per 10,000 white males and 35 per 10,000 white females. Thus a Negro man is more than six times as likely to be victimized as a white man and a Negro woman runs a risk about eight times that of a white woman and four times that of a white man. The greater anxiety of women is not consistent with the probabilities of victimization, however, as within each racial category men far more frequently than women are victims. A deep-seated sense of helplessness should an attack occur may be one reason for the greater anxiety expressed by women. Then, too, women may be more fearful of offenses against the person than seems warranted by the probability of victimization because of the nature of the consequences. Victims of sexual assaults have traditionally been stigmatized or believed that they have been stigmatized. The consequences anticipated then are considerably in excess of any physical injury or property loss. The fearfulness of the women respondents does not seem unreasonable if the nature of the consequences, as well as the risk of victimization, is considered.

If the data on victimization developed by the present survey are taken as the measure of risk, however, then it is whites, not Negroes who are more frequently victims, and women, rather than men. This is because of the preponderance of offenses against property, however. Crimes involving violence and threats rank by race and sex as in the police data.

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Other Correlates of Anxiety

There is another sense in which level of anxiety may be related to actual vulnerability. If in general people with greater financial resources are better able to protect themselves from harm, then the relationship between income and anxiety for the white respondents and the Negro men seems reasonable. For both of these categories of persons the anxiety scores decrease with an increase in income as is apparent in Table 3-2.

TABLE 3-2

ANXIETY ABOUT CRIME AND INCOME
(Per Cent With High Anxiety Scores)

	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Under $81.00 weekly	60	(20)[a]	49	(45)	64	(11)
$81.00 to $120.00 weekly	62	(82)	59	(82)	41	(17)
Over $120.00 weekly	42	(53)	53	(55)	42	(38)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

While there was greater anxiety about crime among Negro women, the least fearful Negro women were not the college educated or those with the highest incomes, who might be expected to live in objectively safer surroundings. It was rather those with a grammar school education or less, who lived in "broken" homes rather than in typical households with both an adult man and woman in the family, and those with incomes of $80.00 per week or less. It hardly seems likely that these women live

in greater safety than those with higher incomes and more education. They may, however, be reconciled to their low incomes and life without husbands, with the vulnerability that these conditions imply. They may also be less influenced by news accounts of crime. This is not to say that these women are without anxiety and fear, but that they are on the average less anxious than other Negro women. One might expect that individuals who live in households with children would be particularly apprehensive about crime. The presence of children in the household was not associated with greater anxiety, however, for either Negro or white respondents.

Although there were pronounced differences in the average degree of anxiety expressed by respondents in the three precincts, the objective characteristics of an area did not seem to be the determining factor. In a multiple regression analysis of the anxiety index score, precinct of residence was found to be more highly related to anxiety than almost any other known characteristic of the individual. Yet, while relatively few of the respondents in one of the low-crime-rate precincts had manifested a high degree of anxiety, in the other low-crime-rate precinct there were as many "high anxiety" respondents as in the precinct with the highest rate (see Table 3-3).

TABLE 3-3

ANXIETY ABOUT CRIME IN THREE PRECINCTS
(Per Cent With High Anxiety Scores)

	Six		Ten		Fourteen	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Negro men	39	(44)[a]	53	(61)	61	(72)
Negro women	43	(65)	63	(76)	59	(93)
White	45	(46)	56	(36)	39	(18)
Total	39	(155)	58	(173)	58	(183)

[a]Number of cases on which percentage is based.

It appears that there may be a climate of concern and worry which is more intense in some areas, less in others. Persons who live in an atmosphere of pronounced fear and anxiety are more likely to worry about their safety, regardless of their objective risks. The climate of concern in the three precincts will be discussed further in a later section.

C. Personal Experience and Anxiety About Crime

Two measures of an individual's experience with crime were used to investigate the influence of these experiences on the respondent's attitudes. The first was simply whether an individual reported an incident of victimization to the interviewer or said that nothing had ever happened to him. A second measure, a "crime exposure" index, took into account an individual's experience with crime in greater detail--the number and seriousness of the incidents he reported, whether any friend or relative had ever been injured or killed as a result of crime and whether he himself had ever seen a crime committed. No matter which of these measures of experience was used, those who had more experience were no more anxious than those who had less or no experience of this nature.

In an analysis by race and sex categories, however, Negro men prove to be an exception. Table 3-4 shows that the level of anxiety according to crime exposure score varies randomly for the white respondents and the Negro women. For most people it seems that a general sense of uneasiness about personal safety is not a result of having been a victim of a crime.

TABLE 3-4

ANXIETY ABOUT CRIME AND EXPERIENCE AS VICTIM
(Per Cent With High Anxiety Scores)

Crime Exposure Score[b]	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
1	48	(48)[a]	59	(65)	35	(23)
2	51	(54)	54	(65)	52	(25)
3	50	(28)	55	(53)	35	(23)
4	62	(47)	57	(51)	45	(29)
No incidents	47	(79)	58	(97)	42	(36)
One incident or more	56	(73)	58	(88)	37	(35)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

[b]Higher score means greater victimization.

There does seem to be a tendency for Negroes who report one incident of victimization to believe that there has been a great increase in crimes of violence more often than those who report no incidents. To the extent that this is so, it would seem that personal experience has influenced their perceptions of crime if not their anxiety about it. As indicated in Table 3-5, however, more than half of the Negro respondents who said that they had never been the victims of any kind of crime nevertheless thought that there was a very great increase in violent crimes. The white respondents were even less influenced by personal experience; a larger proportion of those who reported no incident rather than one estimated a very great increase in violent crimes was taken place.

TABLE 3-5

HAS THERE BEEN AN INCREASE IN VIOLENT CRIME IN WASHINGTON?
(Per Cent Reporting "Very Much More.")

Crime Exposure[a]	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	%	%	N
1	48	(48)[b]	54	(65)	65	(23)
2	70	(54)	69	(65)	48	(25)
3	43	(28)	60	(53)	52	(23)
4	60	(47)	65	(51)	72	(29)
No incident	51	(79)	55	(97)	61	(36)
One incident	66	(73)	69	(88)	51	(35)

[a]Higher score means exposure to more and/or more serious crime.

[b]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

Further evidence that personal experience is not the major determinant of our respondents' perceptions can be inferred from their sources of information. After they were asked for their estimates of an increase or decrease, they were asked where they had obtained their information on this subject. A preponderant majority either said they got their information from the news media or from what they heard people say.

Measure for Self-Protection

When respondents were asked whether they had done anything to protect themselves in any way against the dangers of crime, more of them (38%) spontaneously said that they stay off the streets at night than

mentioned any other measure of protection. Improving locks on doors and avoiding being out alone ranked second and third. Other frequently mentioned measures were putting locks and bars on windows, using taxis at night and not talking to strangers. The protective measures are listed in rank order of frequency of mention in Table 3-6.

TABLE 3-6

INDICES OF SELF PROTECTION

	N	%
1. Personal behavior		
Staying off streets at night . . .	194	38[a]
Avoid being out alone at night . .	127	25
Avoid talking to strangers	62	12
Use taxis at night	56	11
Carry weapon for protection. . . .	44	9
2. Measures taken by respondent to secure house or apartment.		
Improvement of locks	171	33
Added locks or bars on windows . .	49	9
Firearms kept for protection . . .	43	8
Additional lights.	25	5
Other.	66	13
3. Measures taken by owners or managers to secure house or apartment.		
Added locks or bars on windows . .	13	3
Additional lights.	13	3
Doorman or attendant	10	2
Other.	28	5

[a]N=511. Percentages add to more than 100 because many respondents named more than one measure.

It seems clear that most of our respondents thought of crime primarily in terms of personal attacks upon themselves or members of their households and somewhat less frequently in terms of loss of property

through theft. They did not respond in terms of guarding against overly sharp loan practices, fraudulent business practices, or other "white collar" or organized crime. Our respondents were most of all afraid of the personal attacks, assaults which they believed might befall them if they were on the streets at night and particularly if alone.

Analysis of these responses serves to emphasize the salience of a fear of personal attack. A combined index of "self-protection" was constructed of these items, each respondent was assigned a "self-protection" score and a multiple regression analysis was used to explore the importance of each protective measure to the total score. Staying off the streets, using taxis and avoiding being out alone at night or talking to strangers are the precautions most characteristic of the respondents who have high self-protection scores. Not only do a smaller number of respondents take measures to make their homes more secure but these were not usually the same persons who were careful to avoid danger on the streets. Similarly, few persons depended on weapons, either at home or abroad, and they were not the same persons who were staying off the streets. The correlations of each protective measure with the total self-protection score are listed in Table 1 in Appendix C.

The greater concern of women regarding personal attacks on themselves is reflected in the distribution of the self-protection scores (see Table 3-7). Whereas Negroes are more anxious than whites, women take more steps to safeguard themselves from victimization than do men. Negro women accordingly have the highest scores on both indexes.

TABLE 3-7

SELF-PROTECTION BY SEX AND RACE

	Low		High		N
	%	N	%	N	
White women	35	25	65	47	72
White men	50	14	50	14	28
Negro women	33	78	67	156	234
Negro men	67	118	33	59	177

The proportions with high self-protection scores are Negro men, 33 per cent;Negro women, 67 per cent; white men, 50 per cent; and white women, 65 per cent. The avoidance of danger by women is underscored by the fact that white and Negro women have equally high self-protection scores, although their respective victimization risks are greatly unequal. Although on the average women mention more protective measures, men, too, are leary of the streets; 36 per cent of the white men and 21 per cent of the Negro men say they stay off the streets at night in order to protect themselves from crime. Generally, persons with lower incomes have higher self-protection scores than the higher income groups, just as lower income groups tended to have higher anxiety scores. As noted earlier, Negro women were an exception in that those with lower incomes were less anxious than those with higher incomes. That they are not oblivious to the possibility of danger, however, is evidenced by their high self-protection scores. As shown in Table 3-8, they and low income white women have higher self-protection scores than does any other group.

TABLE 3-8

SELF-PROTECTION AND INCOME
(Percentage with High Self-Protection Scores)

	Negro Male		Negro Female		White Male		White Female	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Income Under $81.00 weekly	40	(20)[a]	73	(45)	-	-	73	(11)[b]
$81.00-$120.00 weekly	35	(82)	67	(82)	50	(6)	64	(11)
Over $120.00 weekly	30	(53)	68	(55)	36	(14)	63	(24)

[a]Figure in parentheses is number on which percentage is based.

[b]Numbers which are too small for stable percentages are presented for their descriptive value.

They may not express as much concern about the chances of getting beaten up as do some other groups, but they nevertheless avoid being out on the streets alone at night.

D. Fear of Personal Attack

The concern about rising crime rates is, to a great extent, a belief that crimes against the person have been increasing. While there is some variation among the various indicators of concern for personal safety we used, the belief that crimes against the person are increasing is common to both races and both sexes. Respondents were asked whether there had been an increase in violent crimes, such as shootings, stabbings or rapes, in Washington in the last five years. Over half of each sex-race category said there was "very much more." There was here unanimity

that there was at least a "little bit more" violent crime than five years ago--those agreeing that this was the case ranged from 80 per cent of the Negro men to over 90 per cent of the white women (see Table 3-9).

TABLE 3-9

BELIEF THAT VIOLENT CRIME HAS INCREASED IN WASHINGTON IN LAST FIVE YEARS (In Percentages)

	Very Much More	Little Bit More	Not Much Difference	No Increase	Less Now	Don't Know	N
Negro men	57	23	12	4	2	2	177
Negro women	62	18	12	3	-[a]	3	234
White men	54	36	4	-	-	7	28
White women	63	29	4	1	1	1	72
Total	60	22	10	3	1	3	511

[a]Less than .5 of 1%.

The pervasiveness and intensity of the fear of personal attack illustrates another way in which concern about crime does not correspond to objective dangers. Not only are violent crimes quite uncommon compared to other offenses but the number of these crimes relative to the population is small. Or, from another perspective, the chances of death from automobile accidents, falls, suicide or other accidents are all greater than from homicide. The intense fear of attack on the streets or assault by a stranger is particularly incongruent with objective risks. The risk of serious attack is about twice as great from persons

well known to the victim as it is from strangers.[2] Furthermore, injuries in the case of assault are not only more common but more serious when the victim and offender know each other well. The anxiety about personal safety, the restrictions and the inconvenience which people are willing to undergo to avoid personal danger from strangers appear disproportionate to the relatively low objective probabilities of these dangers in comparison with other perils to life and property.

E. Reliance On Law Enforcement

National polls in recent years have indicated that a majority of the population seems to attribute increased crime rates to a breakdown in morals or inadequate moral training or discipline of young people. When asked about remedies for the crime situation, however, they look largely to tighter policing and sterner law enforcement. When respondents in Washington were asked what they thought was the most important thing that could be done to cut down crime in the city, they too advocated strictness. Their responses were classified as recommendations of repressive measures, of social amelioration or of moral inculcation. Repressive measures included such things as more police, police dogs, stiffer sentences, and cracking-down on teenagers. Social amelioration included advocacy of such things as more jobs, recreation and youth programs, better housing, and improved police-community relations. Moral inculcation measures were better child training, religious training and revival, community leadership, and simply "teach discipline." Sixty

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[2] Uniform Crime Reports, 1965, p. 7.

per cent of the respondents recommended repressive measures, 40 per cent social amelioration and/or moral inculcation. Only three-and-one-half per cent recommended moral measures alone.

Another evidence of a tendency to think of stern law enforcement as the way to solve the crime problem is contained in the answer to a question asking whether the sentences given by courts in Washington were generally "too lenient" or "too harsh." Over half (58%) thought the courts were "too lenient"; 22 per cent thought they were "about right"; 11 per cent, sometimes lenient and sometimes harsh; fewer than 2 per cent said "too harsh." (The remaining 7 per cent said that they did not know.)

More police, more stringent policing and less leniency by the courts--this is how a substantial segment of our sample would undertake to reduce the amount of crime in the city. Fewer thought that social changes or improving the moral fiber of the population was the solution.

F. Respect for Police and Law Enforcement

Not only is there substantial reliance on the police, there is also considerable goodwill toward them. Most of our respondents (85%) agreed that "people who take on the tough job of being a policeman deserve a lot more thanks and respect than they get from the public." Almost as many (78%) agreed that there are just a few policemen who are responsible for the bad publicity that the force sometimes gets and (68%) that policemen ought to get more pay than they do.

This respect and goodwill notwithstanding, most persons have some reservations regarding their evaluation of the police. Although

most persons thought the police deserve more thanks than they get, 29 per cent said that you would have to replace at least half the police in order to have a good force. There was no question to which more than half of the respondents answered in a manner which was unfavorable to the police, but half did agree that the "police go after little things and ignore the really bad things going on." Half of the respondents thought that wealthy and influential people receive preferential treat ment and almost as many thought that many police "enjoy pushing people around." There were very few persons whose responses were consistently sympathetic or unsympathetic toward the police, however. Most persons gave some propolice responses and some critical of the city's force.

A combined index of propolice attitudes was constructed, based on a factor analysis of a large number of items in the interviews which were concerned with attitudes toward the police.[3] The analysis isolated six items which were a general measure of respect and goodwill. They are listed in Table 3-10 in the order of their factor loading, that is, their relative importance to the pattern of responses that formed this measure. Each respondent was then assigned a propolice score based on his responses to these items. It should be noted that this index of respect for the police does not include any items of the interview that had strong racial or civil rights overtones, since this propolice measure was found to be quite separate from the civil rights issue. That is, in general, the manner in which a respondent answered a propolice item was not directly related to his response to a rights item.

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[3]Cooley, William W. and Paul R. Lohnes, Multivariate Procedures for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1962), pp. 151-185.

TABLE 3-10

RESPONSES TO ITEMS IN PROPOLICE INDEX BY SEX AND RACE
(In Percentages)

	Negro Men (N=177)			Negro Women (N=234)			White Men (N=28)			White Women (N=72)			Total (N=511)		
	Agree	Dis-agree	Don't Know	Agree	Dis-agree	Don't Know	Agree	Dis-agree	Don't Know	Agree	Dis-agree	Don't Know	Agree	Dis-agree	Don't Know
1. There seem to be many police who just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time.[a]	54	37	9	52	38	10	25	61	14	21	65	14	47	43	10
2. The police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the really bad things going on.[a]	53	32	15	50	39	11	28	50	22	28	50	22	50	35	15
3. You would have to replace at least half the police now on the force to get a really good police force.[a]	40	41	19	28	52	20	18	61	21	11	61	28	29	50	21
4. People who know the ropes and have money to afford good lawyers don't have anything to worry about from the police.[a]	57	36	8	51	36	13	39	43	18	35	50	15	50	38	12
5. There are just a few policemen who are responsible for the bad publicity the police department gets.[b]	73	19	8	82	8	10	79	11	10	76	7	17	78	12	10
6. People who are willing to take on the tough job of being a policeman deserve a lot more thanks and respect than they get from the public.[b]	79	15	6	87	9	4	93	4	3	90	6	4	85	10	5

[a] Disagree is propolice response

[b] Agree is propolice response

Multiple regression analysis of the propolice index indicated that sex and race of the respondent were the characteristics most influential in determining the individual's propolice score.[4] Propolice sentiment was more characteristic of white respondents than Negroes and of women rather than men. The percentages with high scores in each group are white women, 79 per cent; white men 71 per cent; Negro women, 56 per cent; and Negro men 49 per cent. Within each racial category there was more propolice sentiment among those with higher education (see Table 3-11).

TABLE 3-11

PROPOLICE SENTIMENT AND EDUCATION
(Per Cent with High Propolice Scores)

	Negro Men		Negro Women		White[a]	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Less than 8 years	40	(20)[b]	46	(22)	72	(7)[c]
8-11 years	45	(47)	52	(66)	77	(17)
High school graduate	49	(57)	59	(70)	72	(28)
Some college	45	(27)	61	(33)	83	(12)
College graduate	64	(22)	70	(30)	88	(25)
Business or technical school	75	(4)	46	(11)	67	(9)

[a]Because of small numbers, white men and women are considered together.

[b]Figure in parentheses number of cases on which percentage is based.

[c]Numbers too small for stable percentages are presented for their descriptive value.

[4]Cooley and Lohnes, op. cit.

White college graduates had the highest scores; the more highly educated Negroes had scores nearly as high. Among the white respondents, higher income tended to be associated with high propolice scores. As people with more education usually also have higher incomes, it is not surprising that income and education influence attitudes toward the police in the same way (see Table 3-12).

TABLE 3-12

PROPOLICE SENTIMENT AND INCOME
(Per Cent with High Scores)

	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Under $81.00 weekly	50	(20)[a]	62	(45)	55	(11)
$81.00-$120.00 weekly	48	(82)	49	(82)	76	(17)
Over $120.00 weekly	45	(53)	62	(55)	82	(38)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

Among the Negroes who were interviewed, however, the relationship between income and propolice sentiment is not as clear as that between education and propolice attitudes; the difference probably reflects a less perfect correspondence between education and income among Negroes than whites.

Another characteristic of respondents that was found to have a relatively strong but negative correlation with the propolice score is an index of the respondent's concern for his personal safety and his belief that crime is increasing, that is, his "crime anxiety" score.

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Negroes tended to be more anxious about crime and also less propolice. Within each racial group, however, the same relationship existed. Sixty-seven per cent of the Negro men with low anxiety scores had high propolice scores compared to 39 per cent of those who were more anxious. As revealed in Table 3-13, the same decreases in propolice sentiment with greater crime anxiety occurred among Negro women and the white respondents.

TABLE 3-13

PROPOLICE SENTIMENT AND CRIME ANXIETY
(Per Cent with High Propolice Scores)

Anxiety[b]	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1	67	(33)[a]	81	(31)	78	(23)
2	51	(51)	61	(72)	86	(35)
3	42	(62)	52	(86)	76	(25)
4	39	(31)	38	(45)	59	(17)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

[b]Higher score reflects greater anxiety.

They may be resentful toward the police for what they perceive as inadequate protection. Whatever the reason, those persons, regardless of sex or race, who think their personal safety is endangered by crime tend to be less respectful of the police.

If anxiety about potential crime and its dangers lessens respect for policemen, actual experience as a victim of crime might be expected to decrease propolice sentiment even more. The individual who has been

victimized might harbor resentment toward the police who, he thinks, should have done a better job of protecting him. As indicated in Table 3-14, the Negro men who have been victims do express less respect for the police than those who say they have never been the victims of any criminal deed.

TABLE 3-14

PROPOLICE SENTIMENT AND EXPERIENCE AS VICTIM
(Per Cent with High Propolice Scores)

Crime Exposure[a]	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1	50	(48)[b]	55	(65)	74	(23)
2	50	(54)	54	(65)	80	(25)
3	57	(28)	51	(53)	83	(23)
4	40	(47)	65	(51)	72	(29)
No incident	54	(79)	54	(97)	72	(36)
One incident	45	(73)	55	(88)	77	(35)

[a]Higher score reflects greater victimization.

[b]Figure refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

The decrease is not evident for the sample as a whole, however. When the "crime exposure" score, which encompasses more detail of a respondent's experience with crime, is taken as the measure, again there is no consistent relationship with propolice sentiment. Negro men who have been most victimized have the least regard for the police but being the victim of crime does not predispose most of our respondents toward either more favorable or less favorable attitudes toward the police.

Negro men unquestionably were the least sympathetic and respectful toward the police of all those who were interviewed. Interestingly,

however, level of education, which was associated with more favorable attitudes toward the police for all respondents, had a much more pronounced effect for the Negro men than anyone else. That is, there was a sharper difference between the less educated and the highly educated among Negro men than among others. To look at the same data from another perspective, there was considerable difference in the attitudes of Negroes and white persons who had little education but very little between Negro and white college graduates.

The attitudes that these Negro men held toward the police were also influenced by some other factors, most notably the kinds of experiences which they had with individual policemen. The respect for the police which was expressed by the white respondents appeared to be an abstract, impersonal attitude, not dependent on personal contact or friendly associations with particular policemen. Respondents were asked about their social contacts with policemen--whether they have a relative or personal friend who is a policeman, etc. White respondents who knew an officer well enough to call him by his first name or had some closer personal contact with one did not express any more respect or sympathy for police than did those persons who did not know a policeman that well. The Negro men who knew at least one policeman well enough to call him by his first name, however, were usually more respectful and friendly. On the other hand, Negro men whose last official contact with police had been as a reporter of an offense were less propolice as a rule than Negro men in general. Another type of official contact, in which the respondent had asked for police help in the case of an accident or emergency or even had asked for directions, tends to be associated with

more propolice sentiment among Negroes. Both Negro men and women who report this type of contact have higher propolice scores than the Negro sample as a whole although this association did not exist for white respondents.

As might be expected, those who reported having seen a policeman engage in any sort of improper or illegal behavior also tended to be less respectful than those who had not witnessed any police misbehavior. This was true for both Negro and white respondents regardless of whether they had seen a relatively minor or a more serious kind of improper act. However, Negroes were more likely to have seen the kinds of behavior which might leave a harsher impression. Thirty of the Negro and two of the white respondents had seen instances of brutality or what they thought was unjustified violence.

It appears, then, that the lesser respect shown by Negro men toward police is not an attitude which is unchangeable. If it is influenced by concrete events and conditions in the first place, it might also be altered by changed conditions. The Negro man's experience as a victim of crime is one of these factors. One of the most important determinants of the Negro man's respect or disrespect is what happens when policemen and Negro men meet.

Many persons of both races believe that the police give differential treatment to various groups. Just over half of the Negroes and about 20 per cent of the white citizens think that Negroes get worse treatment than other people. Among the comments of these respondents were that the police pick more frequently on Negroes, that they are rude, use brutality and physical force, or else that they ignore Negroes more than other people. Very few persons think that Negroes get favorable treatment (see Table 3-15).

TABLE 3-15

IF A MAN IS A NEGRO, DO YOU THINK THIS USUALLY MAKES A DIFFERENCE IN HOW HE IS TREATED BY THE POLICE IN WASHINGTON?

	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes	60	(106)	49	(115)	27	(27)
No	33	(59)	46	(108)	66	(66)
Don't know	7	(12)	5	(11)	7	(7)
Total	100	(177)	100	(234)	100	(100)

IF YES, IN WHAT WAY DOES IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?
(In Percentages)[a]

	Negro Men N=60	Negro Women N=115	White N=27
Rudeness	53	54	30
Picked on more	63	55	44
Brutality	49	42	15
Ignored	29	17	7
Other negative treatment	11	17	19
Preferential treatment	4	2	22

[a]Percentage of those who responded yes to above question. Percentages add to more than 100 because many respondents named more than one way.

About half of the respondents, more of the Negroes than of the white respondents, believe that wealthy and influential people get preferential treatment (see Table 3-10).

In summary then, the Negro respondents, particularly the men, believe that they receive less than equitable treatment from the police. They have somewhat less respect and regard for the police--how much less depending in part on their own experiences. The single most outstanding finding concerning attitudes toward the police was not so much the difference between groups but rather the generally high regard for the police among all groups, including Negro men. In spite of perceptions of differential treatment, over half of the Negro men thought that there are "just a few policemen who are responsible for the bad publicity the force sometimes gets." Eighty per cent of the Negro men said that policemen "deserve a lot more respect and thanks than they get." When it is remembered that it is the Negroes who expressed the most worry about being the victims of crime, and that there is a general reliance on the police to prevent and control crime, it is not so surprising to find this potential for goodwill toward the police, even among Negro men who are not well educated and who live in the poorer areas of the city. Surveys of random samples of the public can provide some correctives for the highly selective impressions the police and community leaders derive of satisfactions and dissatisfactions of members of the community with various aspects of police performance. The pictures about what "the Negro thinks of the police" that are derived from offenders, from complainants, from special clienteles such as merchants, and from activists of various sorts, are all at variance from what our study indicates is majority opinion.

G. Ambivalence Regarding Police Practices and Law Enforcement

The present study was performed during a period of extensive and often acrimonious public debate on crime, courts, and police. Much of this debate involved direct confrontations of polar points of view. On the one side were arrayed spokesmen of a point of view which may be capsuled: "Free the hands of the police and get tough with the criminals." On the other side were those who saw repressive police practices and disregard for civil rights as alienating minorities from the police and the law and thus contributing to lawlessness. This point of view advanced civil rights and social welfare measures as the paths toward amelioration of the problem.

Among the citizens contacted by the present study, there is a general reliance on the police and law enforcement to reduce the amount of crime. There is also a considerable willingness to permit practices which the police and law enforcement agencies consider important. But this is not an unqualified willingness.

Thus a substantial majority of the respondents (73%), agreed that the police ought to have leeway to act tough when they have to. More than half (56%) agreed that there should be more use of police dogs, while less than one third disagreed.

Another way of being tough with offenders is to impose stiff sentences on those found guilty. That is apparently what a majority of the respondents would do, as pointed out in an earlier section. A further expression of this "get tough" attitude was evidenced in the responses to the question, "What do you think is the most important thing that can be done here in Washington to cut down the amount of

crime that goes on?" As discussed in the section on reliance on law enforcement, most believed that this is a matter of stricter law enforcement.

But permissiveness with regard to police measures and "get tough" attitudes usually are alloyed by qualms about the police. An ambivalence toward the two polar positions sketched above is found more frequently among our respondents than consistent endorsement of one or the other set of arguments. The person who takes a "tough" position on one question may refuse to do so on another. More than half of those who oppose the greater use of police dogs are in favor of police freedom to act tough. (See Table 3-16.)

TABLE 3-16

"THERE SHOULD BE GREATER USE OF POLICE DOGS" BY PER CENT AGREEING "THE POLICE SHOULD HAVE LEEWAY TO ACT TOUGH."

There should be Greater Use of Police Dogs	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Agree	72	(81)[a]	84	(140)	84	(64)
Disagree	61	(80)	68	(69)	75	(12)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

This was true for both racial categories. Further, there is little consistency between respect for police and willingness to enlarge police powers. Table 3-17 shows that there is a tendency for those who are willing to give the police greater power to have high propolice scores. But, almost half of those who do not agree that the police should "have leeway to act tough" or that there should be greater use of police dogs have high propolice scores.

TABLE 3-17

"THE POLICE SHOULD HAVE LEEWAY TO ACT TOUGH WHEN THEY HAVE TO."

	Agree		Disagree	
	%	N	%	N
Low propolice score	37	(136)	54	(59)
High propolice score	64	(237)	46	(51)
Total	101	(373)	100	(110)
"THERE SHOULD BE GREATER USE OF POLICE DOGS."				
Low propolice score	35	(100)	53	(86)
High propolice score	65	(185)	47	(75)
Total	100	(285)	100	(161)

In spite of the general goodwill toward the police and the considerable willingness to permit them whatever practices they believe necessary for law enforcement, there were relatively few who were unconcerned about the rights of citizens. Whereas a majority had taken a "get-tough-with-the-offender" position on most questions, only 38 per cent agreed that "too much attention is paid to the rights of persons who get in trouble with the police." As indicated in Table 3-18, the racial differences were negligible. The greatest difference was within the white sample; those with a higher level of education and with more income were far more likely to disagree. Twenty-nine per cent of the white respondents with less than a high school education and 67 per cent of those with some college did not think that too much attention is paid to the rights of people who get in trouble with the police.

TABLE 3-18

"TOO MUCH ATTENTION IS PAID TO THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO GET IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE."

	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Agree	39	(65)	38	(89)	41	(41)
Disagree	50	(88)	50	(114)	46	(46)
Don't know or no answer	13	(24)	13	(31)	13	(13)
Total	102	(177)	101	(234)	100	(100)

Tables 3-19 and 3-20 show that the effects of increased education and income were similar but not as pronounced for Negro women. Half of the Negro men, without clear cut differences between education and income groups, took the civil rights position on this question.

TABLE 3-19

"TOO MUCH ATTENTION IS BEING GIVEN TO PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO GET INTO TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE."
(Per Cent Disagreeing by Education)

Education	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Less than 8 years	50	(20)[a]	27	(22)	29	(7)[b]
8-11 years	38	(47)	44	(66)	29	(17)
12 years	61	(57)	57	(70)	36	(28)
Some college	37	(27)	61	(33)	67	(12)
College graduate	55	(22)	53	(30)	64	(25)
Business or technical training	75	(4)	27	(11)	56	(9)

[a]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

[b]Numbers too small for stable percentages; presented for their descriptive value.

TABLE 3-20

"TOO MUCH ATTENTION IS BEING PAID TO PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO GET IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE."
(Per Cent Disagreeing by Income)

Income	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Under $81.00 weekly	50	(20)[a]	44	(45)	36	(11)
$81.00-$120.00 weekly	52	(82)	46	(82)	47	(17)
More than $120.00 weekly	45	(53)	55	(55)	58	(38)

[a]Figure in parentheses is number of cases on which percentage is based.

The individual who has been a victim of crime might be inclined to feel that the police ought to be tough with offenders and might be less likely to be concerned with the rights of suspects. This did not prove to be the case, however, just as victimization proved unrelated to a number of attitudes. Table 3-21 indicates that greater victimization does not make a respondent less likely to take a civil rights position.

It is quite apparent that in spite of strong propolice sentiment and an acceptance of strong police powers, there is also a pronounced concern with the rights of citizens. This is particularly true when the rights issue is explicit in the question posed. It also is apparent that most persons do not perceive this concern with rights of citizens as being derogatory toward the police. Of those who took the prorights position, more than half indicated strong respect and sympathy for the police.

TABLE 3-21

"TOO MUCH ATTENTION IS BEING GIVEN TO PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO GET INTO TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE."
(Per Cent Disagreeing by Crime Exposure.)

Crime Exposure[a]	Negro Men		Negro Women		White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1	46	(48)[b]	40	(65)	30	(23)
2	41	(54)	46	(65)	56	(25)
3	54	(28)	49	(53)	35	(23)
4	62	(47)	63	(51)	59	(29)
No incident	41	(79)	41	(97)	39	(36)
One incident	56	(73)	53	(88)	57	(35)

[a]Higher score means greater victimization.

[b]Figure in parentheses refers to number of cases on which percentage is based.

H. Nonreporting of Crimes to the Police

Reporting When Victimized

The citizens of Washington who were interviewed believe that the crime problem is a matter for police rather than citizen action. They nevertheless sometimes fail to take the one essential action they as citizens must take if the police are to intervene in any particular criminal instance. Considering only recent incidents of victimization (which are less likely to be selectively recalled) our respondents said that in 45 per cent of the cases the police were not notified of the crime.

Generally, less serious crimes were more likely to have remained unreported. Of the recent non-Index crimes which were disclosed to our interviewers, 64 per cent had not been reported to the police, as compared with 28 per cent of the recent Index crimes (see Table 3-22).

TABLE 3-22

NONREPORTING BY TYPE OF CRIME
(Recent Incidents)

	Number not Reported	Number of Incidents
Index Crimes		
Criminal homicide	-	-
Forcible rape	1	2
Robbery	4	9
Aggravated assault	2	7
Burglary	15	59
Larceny, $50 and over	9	30
Auto theft	1	14
Total	32[a]	121
Non-Index Crimes		
Other assaults	5	12
Larceny, under $50.00	33	48
Forgery, fraud, etc.	3	5
Other sex offenses	3	7
Arson, vandalism	26	42
Disorderly conduct	1	1
Obscene, threatening phone calls	7	8
Perjury, false testimony, etc.	2	3
Other	3	6
Total	83[b]	132

[a]26% of index crimes not reported.

[b]63% of non-index crimes not reported.

Thirty-three of 48 incidents of larceny under $50 and 26 of 42 incidents of arson or vandalism, for example, had not been reported to the police. They had been informed of only one of eight incidents of obscene or threatening phone calls. On the other hand, the seriousness of a case did not insure that it would be reported to the police. Four out of 9 cases of robbery and 2 of 7 aggravated assaults were not reported. Auto thefts, as expected, were almost always reported.

Reporting Recent Incidents

If most people truly believe that police action and law enforcement are the most effective and appropriate methods for coping with crime, it may seem strange that they do not more often inform the police of a crime or what they suspect is a crime. Respondents were asked the reasons for nonreporting to the police in three situations, two real and one hypothetical. If a respondent said that the police had not been notified of an incident which had occurred to him or a member of his household during the period just prior to interviewing (not more than 15 months) he was asked why: The most frequent type of reply was that nothing could be done about the event (see Table 3-23). There did not seem to be a negative evaluation of the police in these responses; the damage was done, the culprits gone or the evidence not sufficient. About half as many respondents said that they did not call the police because they did not think the police would want to be bothered--wouldn't rather than couldn't do anything useful. Some people were reluctant to get involved with the police, particularly because of the time that they might have to spend. Others were uncertain of whether a crime had indeed been committed or how to go about reporting it to the police.

TABLE 3-23

REASON FOR NOT REPORTING VICTIMIZATION TO POLICE[a]

	First Mention		Total Mentions	
	%	N	%	N
Negative toward police	17	(18)	16	(21)
Fear of retribution	3	(3)	3	(4)
Nothing could be done	34	(37)	34	(46)
Shouldn't "rat" preferred private handling	4	(4)	3	(4)
Did not want to be involved	8	(9)	10	(14)
Uncertainty	8	(9)	8	(11)
Concern for offender	6	(6)	6	(8)
Other	20	(22)	20	(26)
Total	100	(108)	100	(134)

[a]Incidents occurring to respondent or member of his household during recent period prior to interview (not more than 15 months).

Reporting Witnessed Incidents

When the respondent had to decide whether or not to call the police about something he witnessed which he thought might be a crime, however, the most frequent response was not wanting to get involved (see Table 3-24). Again there was a concern about the time that would be involved in talking to the police, presenting evidence, perhaps going to court and losing salary because of time away from work. Others did not feel it was their responsibility to intervene. A typical expression of this sentiment was, "I am not my brother's keeper." As in the instances where the respondent had been a victim, uncertainty and a belief that nobody could undo the damage were also frequently mnetioned.

TABLE 3-24

REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING TO THE POLICE A WITNESSED INCIDENT WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN A CRIME

	First Mention		Total Mentions	
	%	N	%	N
Negative toward police	7	(6)	6	(7)
Fear of retribution	8	(7)	7	(8)
Nothing could be done	11	(9)	9	(10)
Regards reporting as improper, "ratting"	7	(6)	10	(11)
Private, not police matter	2	(2)	2	(2)
Didn't want to be involved	24	(20)	31	(35)
Uncertainty	13	(11)	11	(13)
Believed police already informed	17	(14)	13	(15)
Other	11	(9)	10	(11)
Total	100	(84)	99	(112)

Answers to Hypothetical Question

The following hypothetical situation and question were also posed:

> Suppose that somebody was breaking into a house and somebody around here saw it but didn't call the police. What would probably be the reason he didn't call them.

As when the respondent had himself witnessed a possible crime, the most frequent response was not wanting to get involved (see Table 3-25).

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TABLE 3-25

SUPPOSE THAT SOMEBODY WAS BREAKING INTO A HOUSE AND SOMEBODY AROUND HERE SAW IT BUT DIDN'T CALL THE POLICE. WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE THE REASON HE DIDN'T CALL THEM?

	First Mention		Total Mentions	
	%	N	%	N
Negative toward police	8	(39)	10	(65)
Fear of retribution	39	(182)	32	(206)
Nothing could be done	-[a]	(1)	-[a]	(2)
Regards reporting as improper "ratting"	2	(9)	3	(18)
Did not want to be involved	38	(180)	41	(257)
Uncertainty	7	(35)	8	(53)
Believed police already informed	-[a]	(2)	1	(3)
Other	5	(23)	5	(31)
Total	99	(471)	100	(635)

[a]Less than 0.5%.

In the hypothetical case, however, an even larger proportion of respondents thought that prefering not to get involved would be the reason for somebody else not wanting to inform the police. Although a few persons had mentioned fear of reprisal in the first two instances, in the hypothetical situation many respondents thought that this might be the case. "The policeman will make you face the fellow and then his friends will beat you up," explained one respondent. Others feared that they themselves would become the subject of police inquiry or action and deemed it wiser to remain silent.

Discussion

Our respondents had notified the police in more than half of the cases where they themselves had been the victim of a crime. When they did not do so, it was most frequently because they believed that it would be useless to do so. If they had witnessed an incident and had not reported it, however, it was most often because they did not want to take the time that would be involved. There were very few who said they would not want to call the police because they would not want to be known as informers or because one shouldn't call the police. There were also relatively few reasons which concerned negative evaluations of the police themselves.

Although the extent of nonreporting seems inconsistent with the general reliance on law enforcement agencies for crime control, it is apparently not because people think that one should not call the police. It is rather that they believe that there is some reason in any given instance why it might be better not to take this action.

The problem of encouraging reporting by the witnessing bystander is obviously greater than in the case of the victim. The feeling that unwelcome trouble may come from "getting involved" is quite prevalent, along with vague disinclinations toward being labelled a "busy-body" meddling in matters that are not one's proper concern. In the great majority of the incidents covered by this survey, however, it is a victim (or a member of a victimized household) who is first in a position to make the report. For most offenses, they apparently are more inclined to do so than are third-party witnesses, even when such are present. The most frequent disinclination of the victim to report--his feeling

of its pointlessness-is difficult to overcome in view of the frequent objective validity of the victim's perception. Indeed, the interview would possibly have been more productive if we had asked reasons for reporting, as well as for nonreporting. Data from items in our interviews on dissatisfactions of citizens with the police indeed suggest a more frequent tendency to overestimate the power of the police to act toward the apprehension and punishment of offenders in a given case than to underestimate it. However wise it may be for the citizen to let the police make the judgment in each case as to whether effective action is possible, victims in many instances will continue to make there own fairly sound judgments. Possibly, the largest gain in citizen reporting is to be sought by publicity emphasizing that even if a report may have small chance of remedying the event that has happened, composite information from such reports is needed and will be used by police to prevent future crimes.

I. Crime and the Fear of Crime

The data on victimization reported in Chapter II yield higher estimates of the incidence of offenses against the residents of these precincts than probably have ever been suggested for any population by any previous source of data on the incidence of crime. In this sense, one may say that criminal victimization is a more significant problem than has been suspected.

Other aspects of our data, however, suggest that victimization is of less significance. The great difficulties in the recall of events of victimization discussed in Chapter II, for example, was one of a number of bits of evidence suggesting that most criminal incidents

were not among the most salient events in the lives of victims--as compared, say, with births, deaths, illnesses, marriages, job changes, draft calls, auto accidents and a myriad other happenings that fill lives. The monetary loss involved in all but a scant few of the incidents was very samll--insignificant in relation to what occurs much more frequently in even minor auto accidents, through gambling losses, loss of income from illness or accident, and many other consequences of imprudence or improvidence of the citizen. Crimes of violence, while more frequent than suggested by police data, are nonetheless relatively uncommon events--on an objective basis, criminal violence poses a relatively low threat to life and limb as compared with many other life hazards. This is particularly true, if we eliminate criminal violence among members of the same family, lovers' quarrels, and the like.

Can these observations of the relatively low material consequence of victimization for most of our respondents be reconciled with the many indications in our data of the great impact of fear of crime on their thoughts and daily lives? It is possible that victimization is kept at the level at which it is only through constrictions of the life activities of respondents--staying home at night, not venturing into parks, installing stouter locks, moving to a "better" neighborhood, and so forth. What economists label opportunity costs for feeling safe probably are far greater economic burdens of crime for these citizens than the direct costs of victimization. With these precautions go corresponding psychic costs, such as worry about one's own safety and that of those close to one, being suspicious of others and, for many of our respondents, being treated with suspicion; in general, the psychic costs of living in an atmosphere of anxiety.

It is difficult on the basis of the data available to form conclusions on the rationality of the precautions and anxieties. Would less anxiety and, presumably, correspondingly fewer precautions increase costs of victimization more than it would reduce the material and psychic costs of fear? Clearly, less anxiety is displayed by citizens to greater perils--the danger from auto accidents, smoking, or being cheated or overcharged in the marketplace.

Simply to pose these questions perhaps illustrates how attention to the material consequences of crime misses the major significance it has. It is not that a person encounters a certain dollar loss or that he sustains a certain injury that gives the event its significance, but rather the transgression of moral codes involved. We have found that attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by their past victimization than by their ideas about what is going on in their community--fears about a weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependent.

The major sources of people's impressions from which these attitudes derive were mass media reports about crime, "what people say," and the highly visible signs of what they regard as disorderly or disreputable behavior in their community--insobriety, untidiness, boisterousness.

Insofar as crimes against individual citizens are concerned, then, we suspect that the immediate consequencies are of much less moment than are people's intense reactions to the perceived crime situation. Fears of crime are profoundly affecting much of people's daily lives and the very social geography of the city.

CHAPTER IV

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF CRIME STATISTICS FOR PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME

Relations of Statistics to Public Information

This chapter is devoted to some general discussion of implications suggested by the simultaneous examination in this study of the problem of public attitudes toward crime and that of improved statistical measures of crime. In the previous chapter, central findings were that the public is extremely fearful of victimization and these fears have marked effects on their lives. It was also concluded that impressions about the increasing great hazards faced from crime derive largely from vicarious sources rather than experience as victims or the witnessing of criminal incidents.

Evidence has been discussed suggesting that publicity about crime statistics is one of the more important sources of these vicarious impressions. Crime statistics have been exclusively agency statistics, however. Their primary purpose has been providing information for law enforcement agencies. Their public information functions have been a by-product. Considerable attention has begun to be given to the import and meaning for the public of these widely publicized statistics, and subsequent public communication premised on conclusions derived from these statistics.

It is readily apparent that absolute crime figures and even crime rates have little interpretable meaning for members of the public. If he learns that there were 4,000 serious crimes in his city during a given year or that the crime rate in his city is 1,400 per 100,000 of population,

does he infer that this is great or small, menacing or reassuring? It is rather the statistical statements comparing times and places that provide meanings. The meaning provided is that crime is rampant and is getting worse.

We will examine here some possible statistical treatments of crime from the standpoint of the significance that is to be derived from the data.

How Much Crime Is There?

When people say: "There's so much crime nowadays" many different things are meant. The remark may be touched off by reading in the newspaper a story based on the release of the issue of Crime in the United States and the associated headline: U. S. CRIME INCREASES 13 PER CENT IN YEAR. Or, the remark may stem from reading a headline about a single spectacular murder. Or it may arise from seeing televised hearings of a legislative investigation of organized crime. Or, it may be uttered as a caution to a friend about going home unescorted. Or it may be uttered with an expletive at finding the wheel covers have been stolen from one's car.

Perceptions from each of these different kinds of contexts, and from many others, merge in an amorphous impression of "a lot of crime nowadays." To come to grips with the questions of actually how much crime there is and what significance it has requires disentangling the many elements that are fused in these general impressions. Further, either common denominators, or failing these, different yeardsticks, have to be found to measure these various elements.

Scales

First of all, there are many varieties of crime. Crimes vary greatly in their significance. It seems scarcely wise to add all crimes together to reach a sum; counting them all equally so that a murder weighs no more than a bicycle theft. If nothing else, we must consider crimes in relation to their seriousness.

But the significance or seriousness of crimes is different from different vantage points. What is grave from an economic point of view--say that of insurance company that must pay claims for losses and injuries--may not weigh equally on a moral scale. Negligent use of an automobile can result in extremely costly damage to property relative to the exactions of the amateur shoplifter. The latter, in turn, may be greater than the costs of medical treatment of a person who has been wantonly assaulted on the street.

Threat to the Moral Order

The losses and hazards from crime have a significance to the public far outweighing their relative magnitudes in comparison with the results of imprudence and improvidence. How a thing comes to pass can be more important in people's reactions to it than its objective consequences. A single murder in a city rates more newspaper attention than multiple fatalities that same day in traffic accidents. A murder is a horrifying "mass murder" when there are six victims. Such an event shakes the public far more than an airline crash that kills a few dozen.

While this fact of human psychology is "nonrational" in many senses of that word, there is nothing irrational about it. A money calculus and many other "rational" accounting methods cannot take

sensible account of these differences in significance, however. At the individual level, the differences may also be meaningless--a person may be no more unhappy if his wallet is lifted by a pickpocket than if he loses it by negligently dropping it into a sewer. He may have no particular preference as to being hit by a bullet fired by a careless hunter or by a mad killer.

The special significance of crime is at the social level. The intensity of public reaction to it is understandable in that it reveals weaknesses of the moral order on which not only everyone's safety depends but also almost everything else that is important and precious in life. Crimes therefore have significance in proportion to the extent to which they affront the moral sensibilities of persons. This impact is not limited to those who are victimized directly. In this way, crimes that have no immediate victims and crimes of self and mutual victimization derive their significance and involve major psychic costs.

Perceptions of changes in the prevalence of crime can be expected to evoke particularly intense public reactions in that these can be taken as signs of threats to the fundamental moral order. This clearly is the case with much of the current public reaction to news of increasing crime.

The many distinctions and gradations recognized by our criminal laws, and, more particularly, the common law, embody the cumulative thought of centuries regarding the many kinds of acts the law labels crimes. Yet impacts on victims may have a gravity not linked closely to the perception of a crime in the eye of the law. A series of vaguely threatening telephone calls, for example, can provoke days of tortured terror for a person

who could lightly dismiss a theft of one of his fairly valuable possessions.

The moral significance of acts depends very much on who commits them. The same act that is the "naughtiness" of a child may be the "prank" for young adolescents, delinquency for older ones, and a crime for an adult. A businessman might not be as indignant about the same embezzlement of funds from an enterprise by an employee as he would be if the act were committed by his partner.

Closeness of relationship may have the opposite effect on the conception of an offense by those directly involved. When Mrs. X has her house vandalized by a neighborhood boy, she may say; "I know the problem poor Mrs. Y is having with that difficult boy," and pass the matter off. Her reaction might be very different if she found the same act of vandalism by "those terrible boys from over on A Street."

Crimes that cross the social boundaries of groups and classes evoke different sentiments than those that take place within them.

This is particularly true of offenses against the person that cross social-class lines. The most noteworthy example of this is the crime of rape across what many treat as a caste line. This fact is highly evident in statistics showing the particularly severe penalties for rape that have been given Negro offenders against whites.[1]

Units

When the significance of crime to our respondents was examined, the dominant fact that emerged is that of increasing fearfulness. More

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[1] It is noteworthy in this connection that in a slight majority of the crimes mentioned by white respondents in the present study in which offenders were observed, the respondents report Negroes were the guilty parties.

than anything else, the focus of the concern of the citizen is that he or someone close to him will fall victim of a crime.

"Aggressive crimes."--These fears do not embrace everything the law calls criminal, however, but rather are focused on certain kinds of acts, which, loosely, can be called "aggressive crimes." By these we mean the victimization of the individual citizen by a stranger on the street or by an intruder in his home or work place. Among these crimes, the most feared are those against the person--murder, rape, assault, and robbery with violence. With considerably less intensity, the citizen is concerned with aggressive crimes against his property; particularly by the intruder into his home. Any assessment of crime must consequently address itself particularly to changes in the risk the citizen faces from these aggressive crimes.

Victims as units.--For such an assessment, the number of individuals victimized in the population in a given period of time is a unit of measurement that has considerable meaning. But this unit is not very applicable to many other crimes or their significance.

Crimes Among Intimates and Associates

The same unit, counts of victims, may be applied to offenses similar to what has been called here "aggressive crimes," except that they involve a person being victimized by an associate or intimate rather than a stranger. It has become almost trite to point out that statistics on crimes of violence--the crimes that evoke the greatest fear--include in very high proportion incidents involving victims and offenders who have some preexisting social relationship with one another. Husbands

and wives, parents and children, and friends (at least erstwhile ones) commit such crimes against one another more commonly than do strangers against strangers.

A much smaller proportion of the incidents mentioned by respondents in the present study was committed by familiars than is found in analyses of offender-victim relationships in other studies for the Commission that are based upon police statistics. There is presumably greater respondent reticence about such incidents. The survey figures in this respect fail to reflect "the true picture." From another standpoint, however, they may be less misleading than statistics that include such incidents in greater proportion.

Statistics may enhance one's conception of dangers due to crime by pointing to the risks of being victimized on the street by a stranger or by a sudden intruder. These are unknown quantities which the person has scant ways of assessing for himself. To lump in with these hazards those from sources the individual can assess much better for his own case reduces the value of the statistic for this purpose, however. The members of happy families need not have their fears aroused by statistics weighted with the frequent violence in estranged ones nor the members of a teenage chess club by figures that include members of street corner gangs who vie for standing in the group by an occasional switchblade fight with one another. This has indeed been a basis for criticism of interpretations of the meaning of the UCR Crime Index.

It is not that these crimes among persons who are socially related to one another are in any general sense less significant objects of national concern. In some ways, an additional element of seriousness may be involved in crimes among intimates and associates. They may

constitute violations of the codes of behavior that relate specifically to such relationships as that between family members, friends or business partners. For other such crimes, however, the code of the in-group may be upheld by an act that is an offense from the standpoint of society at large. The youth gang's fight is an example. Such encounters may only become defined as a crime if they come to be acted upon by an official agency, since none of the participants may regard it as such. Alternatively, each participant may regard himself as a victim of others. New and different elements are involved in forming various judgments regarding crimes among intimates and associates that are of less concern in the aggressive crimes. Provocation, for example, may be a more important element in forming both legal and moral judgments of these crimes.

Incidents as units.--The significance of many such crimes, therefore, may be distorted if we use victims as a unit in these instances, as compared with the less ambiguous meaning of "victim" in the aggressive crimes.

For most purposes, assessment of crimes among intimates and associates would be served more adequately by counts of the number of incidents of various types, the kinds of persons involved, and the circumstances under which the incidents occurred.

Indirect victimization of the citizen.--Relative to all criminal acts which take place, crimes that directly victimize individual citizens, to which the present study has been restricted, may well be just a small proportion. The citizen is also affected by those that injure businesses and other organizations from which he derives his livelihood.

He is indirectly victimized by crimes against other businesses and public institutions, for they have to pass the costs of crime on to the consumer and the taxpayer. He is also victimized by many other crimes which involve neither a specific individual or organization as a victim but which disrupt the orderly working of the society and which may generate other crimes or public dependency. Gambling, drunkenness, narcotics, and automobile offenses are some examples here. The fears of our respondents and their attitudes toward the crime problem were more often affected by the visibility of these forms of disorder than by their being victims of crimes in the sense used in this study.

Units for offense against organizations.--The comparisons of the survey victimization per capita rates with police statistics rates was rendered difficult by the inclusion in the latter of offenses against businesses and other organizations. For these offenses counts of number of victims are not generally useful for assessment. Here, the number of offending acts is a more useful count and, for other purposes, the volumes of losses in money terms. These units, too, may be either pertinent or misleading, depending upon what meaning we seek to attach to the question: "How much crime is there?" From the standpoint of the phone company, the actions of the thief who breaks into 15 coin boxes may be five times as consequential as those of another who breaks into only three. But, from various social standpoints, the presence in the society of a person who would break into a phone box at all is an indication of the failure of the norms and controls relating to property to function properly.

Offenders as units.--From such a standpoint, the count of people who offend in particular ways provides the meaningful unit, rather than the number of offenses they commit.

Crimes "without victims."--This becomes particularly true with respect to the next type of crime that has been illustrated--crimes for which no specific individual or organization can be specified as the victim. These include crimes against public order and those involving willing and, in a sense, mutual victims.

For a great many of these crimes, the behavior that is significant is not neatly bound in time and space to form an incident, as is a holdup or burglary. That a particular transaction took place on such-and-such a date--including most of those involving narcotics, gambling, drunkenness and prostitution--is of key significance for a prosecutor, but from a social point of view the fact that Miss X derives her living from prostitution is far more important. From the latter standpoint, the prevalence in the population of offenders is of crucial significance. For many varieties of criminal behavior, the additional problem presents itself of discriminating between the chronic offender and the one-time or sometime (and occasionally impulsive) violation of a law by a person who ordinarily is law-abiding.

A General Decline?

If one popular view of what has been taking place is valid, these complexities may be transcended. This view holds that there has been a pervasive decline in the moral quality of the population. This decline is held to permeate the entire realm of morals, so that transgressions of all kinds are continually becoming more frequent. As a consequence,

persons, property, and public order, all are in ever-increasing jeopardy from crime.

This view is so widespread that it is important for an assessment of crime to confront the questions it poses as directly as possible. Its truth could be established in either of two ways. First, if such a measure existed, it could be tested by one, grand, all-encompassing measure of either the moral quality of the population or of the symptom of its absence which is pertinent to the present problem--crime. Some of the difficulties in providing such a comprehensive measurement have been discussed:

the many varieties of acts that constitute crimes;

the varying degrees of significance of criminal acts;

the different significances they have depending upon the standpoint from which they are judged;

the different kinds of units of measurement that are appropriate to different kinds of crimes and to the different implications they have.

Truly meaningful judgments must rest upon a number of different indicators, if the many dimensions of the problem are to be evaluated.

An alternative to a grand, all-encompassing measure for a decision as to whether and how much crime is increasing would be the finding that any and all of the different measures that can be made all point in the same direction and have fairly uniform rates of change.

Comparisons

The complexities of the problem do not end with arriving at satisfactory meanings for measures of the amount of crime, however. For comparisons over time to be valid comparisons, we have to be sure that counts and measures were made in the same way and with equivalent

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exhaustiveness for the points in the past that we wish to compare with the present. It is particularly important to be sure that there is no confusion between the phenomena with which we are concerned and the diligence and thoroughness with which these events are measured and counted at various times and places.

The survey method used in the present study has no more automatic immunity to such effects than do other statistical sources. We have been impressed by how much the data may be affected by variations in the interviewing procedure and in the quality and training of the interviews.

Ratios

Press releases on crime in Washington, and the data in the police annual report itself, are given in absolute figures, rather than rates. It is essential that the growth of the city not be confused with the growth of crime. Comparisons obviously must be in terms of rates, rather than absolute amounts. With no change in the general disposition of people to be law-abiding, there will be more law-breakers as there get to be more people.

Even rates in relation to population may be misleading, however, if we do not take into account changes in the composition of the population and the fact that transients as well as residents may be victimized.

If we consider crime volume as a function of the prevalence of offenders in the population, for example, then it is important to recognize that infants can't commit crimes and that old ladies rarely are burglars or robbers. Particularly during periods of rapid demographic change, it would be easy to confuse an increase in the proportion of

infants and old ladies in the population with an increase in its moral fiber, if rates are considered naively.

Presumably, however, infants and old ladies are more eligible to be victims of offenses than they are to be offenders. The way population is entered into ratios therefore involves different considerations when the focus is on criminals than when it is on victims. Interpretation of rates in which offenses or incidents are numerator units requires simultaneous examination of the presence of eligible victims and eligible offenders in the population constituting the denominator.

From the same standpoint, we know that males in their adolescence and postadolescence have always been the element of the population that societies have most difficulty binding to their strictures. If population in their 'teens and post-'teens increases proportionately more rapidly than the population as whole, as indeed has been very much the case of late, then there will be a greater number of crimes in proportion to total population. The "crime rate" would rise even though the average teenager of the current moment proved no more given to delinquency than those of previous generations and even were he destined to become equally as law-abiding an adult. People therefore may take greater comfort about what is happening to "moral fiber" if they are presented with age-specific "crime rates" or if changes are presented that "standardize" the rates for age distribution.

The rates that are specific to population segments provide scant comfort, however, if the question is not put in terms of "What is happening to our morals?" and instead voices the concern: "What may happen to me?" To the extent that teenagers, for example, direct their offenses at victims other than fellow teenagers, the chances of the average citizen's being a victim of crime will increase as the size of the high-offending age class swells. Thus, assuming for the moment that teenagers, by and large, become no more highly disposed to steal cars, if there come to be more of them around in relation to the number of car owners, the chances of somebody having his car stolen gets greater.

Rates of victimization are the pertinent figure where this is the significance we wish to derive. The appropriate base is the number of people or the number of parties (households, business establishments, school buildings, coin-boxes, or what have you) that are eligible to be hit by the kind of offense toward which interest is directed.

Summary Remark Concerning Over-all Rates

The most significant comparisions that can be made to answer such questions as those relating to the respect for law of citizens, or the hazards faced by citizens, or the costs borne by the economy, all involve rates.

The discussion thus far has first examined the different meanings that can be derived depending upon what units get placed in the numerators of these rates--offenses per . . . , victims per . . . , arrests per . . . , dollars of loss per . . . , etc. The discussion has emphasized that how we select and measure these units will also determine the meaning of the results: victimizations by aggressive crimes per . . . , offenses

committed by adults weighed according to their seriousness per . . . , etc. Finally, the importance of what goes into the denominators of these rates has been illustrated. The units in the base are equally as important for interpreting the significance of a rate is as what goes into the numerator.

"Per capita" is a nice and handy way of stating rates, but in the case of an appreciation of the significance of the crime problem, as with many other problems, it may obscure more than illuminate.

Concentrations versus Averages

Another implication of many of the illustrations given here is the limited significance of gross averages. Nothing illustrates this better than the professors' chestnut about the man who drowns in the deep hole in a pond posted with the sign "Average depth: 4 feet." Similarly, that the average loss to larceny for a Washington residential household per year proves to be a trivial amount in this study, is small comfort to the few families repeatedly burglarized. That the crime rate in a certain city is increasing no more rapidly than that of the nation may fail to impress the many life-long inhabitants of one neighborhood we surveyed who now feel impelled to move because of fears for the family's safety. The way in which crimes are concentrated in persons, places and times can be equally as significant as the average levels, and from certain standpoints even more so.

It is possible that in the crime picture, the same kind of situation may obtain as came to light when the nation became conscious of poverty in its midst. Just as the very affluence of the nation as a whole made the "poverty" in "pockets" that much more intolerable,

"pockets of crime" can become more intolerable if the standards of the society as a whole go up.

This will be particularly true for those who are in these "pockets." Safety, as with other blessings of social life, tends to be viewed by a person relative to what others enjoy.

In assessing crime, identifying the concentrations of offenders and victims is as important as identifying averages for the country and other large units of geography. Concentrations among particular categories of the population and among particular categories of enterprise is also of key importance. The pilot study we conducted does not permit analysis by sufficiently small geographic areas to identify such concentrations and the special meaning crime has for residents in such areas. Further work is planned, however, to elucidate meanings for various population classes.

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND DATA ON WASHINGTON AND THE THREE POLICE PRECINCTS

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The City

Composition

According to the 1960 Census Washington, D. C. was the ninth largest city in the United States, and the Washington Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area was tenth in size. In 1964 the District population was estimated at just over 800,000.

By most recent estimates the population of the city is now almost two-thirds Negro, compared to 55 per cent in 1960, and among the younger residents the proportion is even higher. Since 1960 the White population has been moving to the suburbs as the non-White population has moved in.

Washington is atypical of most American cities in other ways. In 1964 half of its employed population was working for government--most for the federal government. Relatively few persons were employed in manufacturing, and a high proportion worked in "service and miscellaneous" occupations (see Table A-1).

TABLE A-1

COMPOSITION OF OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. METROPOLITAN AREA, 1964[a]
(In Percentages)

Employed In	% Employed
Construction contracting	4
Manufacturing	3
Transportation and public utilities	5
Wholesale and retail trade	15
Finance, insurance and real estate	5
Service and miscellaneous	18
Government	50
Total	100% (N=597,000)

[a] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract [illegible]es: 1965. (86th edition.) Washington,

In 1964 the median per capita income was $3544 compared to a median of $2566 for the country as a whole. Figures for 1959 show there were both fewer Washington families in the lowest income bracket and more in the next-to-highest (see Table A-2) reflecting in good part the biracial composition of the city.

TABLE A-2

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME LEVELS[a]
(In Percentages)

Each Income Level	U. S.	D. C.
Under $3,000	21.4	17.3
$3,000 - $4,999	20.5	22.6
$5,000 - $6,999	23.0	18.9
$7,000 and Over	35.2	41.2
Total	100.1%	100.0%

[a]U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 343.

District families have both higher incomes and a smaller number of persons per family than in the country as a whole: The District family has an average of 2.9 persons per unit as compared to 3.3 for the nation.[1] District residents over the age of 25 have had more education than average (see Table A-3).

And housing is apparently in better condition than in the country at large. Eighty-five per cent of the District units were rated in sound condition in 1960, as compared to 74 per cent for the country.[2]

[1]Ibid., p. 38.

[2]Ibid., p. 760.

TABLE A-3

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED--BY RACE--
FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA[a]

Median Number of Years of School Completed	U. S.	D. C.
White Residents	10.9	12.4
Negro Residents	8.2	9.8

[a] Ibid., p. 113.

By all of these measures the situation of the population of the District is better than for the country as a whole--by white-collar occupation, by per capita income, by education and by condition of housing.

Crime Statistics in the City

One might think that a predominantly white-collar population of higher than average educational and income level would have a low crime rate. On the other hand, one might think that the very high minority group membership would generate crimes of protest. Because this study is confined to the District of Columbia proper, we want to compare rates for the District to those of other cities; simply as a means of reducing the number of cities to be compared we chose those with populations of similar size to that of Washington (see Table A-4).

A comparison of ten cities shows that Washington had the fourth highest total index rate of reported offenses for 1964, and that the standard metropolitan statistical area of which Washington is the central city had the second highest rate out of nine. Knowing that a comparison

such as this is of limited reliability we prefer not to elaborate on it. We are not now in a position to explain variations between cities. We offer the data only as descriptive of the context within which the problem of this study is located.

TABLE A-4

COMPARISON OF TOTAL CRIME INDEX RATES (per 100,000 population) FOR CITIES SIMILAR IN SIZE TO WASHINGTON, D. C. AND FOR THE STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS[a]

Cities Similar in Size to Washington	City Per Cent Non-White	1964 City Index[b]	1964 SMSA Index[b]
Milwaukee	8.9	1344.8	1008.6
Dallas	19.3	1890.0	1509.5
Cleveland	28.9	1969.6	1182.5
Baltimore	35.0	1984.8	1589.8
Boston	9.8	2727.5	1522.4
Pittsburgh	16.8	2741.1	1101.6
Washington, D. C.	54.8	3001.6	2072.6
New Orleans	37.4	3125.2	(not given)
San Francisco	18.4	3284.1	2317.3
St. Louis	28.8	3559.0	1917.3

[a] For source of data see Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, Uniform Crime Reports for the United States 1964, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965, pp. 171 and 69-87.

[b] Index offenses include murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary or breaking and entering, larceny-theft $50 or more, and auto theft.

The Precincts

Crime Statistics in the Precincts

The three precincts we studied include about 30 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia, judging from 1964 population estimates. In Table A-5 we have compared for each of these precincts the proportion of the population of the District that lives in each and the proportion of all the Part I offenses known to the police that takes place in their confines. In this way, we have an ironic quota measure--we can see whether each precinct contributes more or less to the "crime rate" for the city than would be expected on the basis of its population. The data are given for 1960 and 1965.

Two of our precincts--the 6th and 14th--are low in their crime rates relative to population; the 10th Precinct exceeds its quota of crime. It can also be noted that crimes known to the police have increased more rapidly in the 10th Precinct than in the city as a whole, while the 6th has shown a slight decline and the 14th a probably insignificant increase. Relative to population, the 6th and 14th are among the lowest in the city in police records of Part I offenses; the 10th moderately high. This is true of each of the classes of offenses which occur frequently enough to be statistically meaningful.

Using population alone as basis for a quota fails to take into account certain known aspects of the distribution of offenses. First of all, Negroes contribute to the numbers of known offenders in disproportion to their numbers in the population, but according to a recent survey, not to the known victims of offenses.[1] Secondly, persons are victimized in

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[1] Unpublished letter from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, to the District of Columbia Crime Commission.

places other than where they reside. These largely residential precincts may not contribute as many offenses committed against nonresidents to the totals for the city as do other precincts that have many establishments which cater to the public.

From a survey covering two weeks in 1963, the FBI estimated that 58 per cent of victims of offenses for which a fingerprint card was submitted were white. Generally, however, areas have crime rates in proportion to the per cent of their population that is Negro. The 6th and 14th Precincts are notable exceptions to this pattern, particularly the 14th, which has become almost all Negro.

The possible effects of crimes against nonresidents on the differences shown in Table A-5 between the three precincts can be discounted, however, in that the housebreaking quota figures differ in roughly similar magnitudes between the precincts as do the totals. Indeed the 10th Precinct, which has the greatest number of business establishments and places of entertainment that may bring nonresidents of the precinct to it has a disproportionately high housebreaking figure, and the 14th, which has the fewest of such establishments, has the lowest figure.

Insofar as police statistics are concerned, the 14th Police Precinct would appear to be the least crime ridden of any in town.[1]

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[1] An erroneous impression has sometimes been created in the press that the 14th Precinct is a "high crime" area. Absolute numbers of offenses were used that did not take into account the exceptionally high population of this precinct.

TABLE A-5

PERCENTAGE OF ALL WASHINGTON PART I OFFENSES AND OF POPULATION IN THREE POLICE PRECINCTS: 1960 AND 1965
(Part I Offense Rates in 1960 and 1965 Based on 1960 Census and 1964 Population Estimates)

Offenses	Entire City Total				6th Precinct				10th Precinct				14th Precinct				Total Three Precincts			
	1960		1965		1960		1965		1960		1965		1960		1965		1960		1965	
	N	%	N	%	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]
Population:	763,956	100	802,749	100	65,156	8.5	69,716	8.7	79,118	10.4	85,656	10.7	80,747	10.6	84,801	10.6	224,748	29.5	240,173	30.0
1. Criminal homicide																				
Murder	72	100	155	100	-	-	1	0.6	7	9.7	15	9.7	8	11.1	10	6.4	15	20.8	26	16.7
Manslaughter	6	100	8	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	1	16.6	1	12.5	1	16.6	2	25.0
Negligent homicide	19	100	14	100	1	5.2	1	7.1	-	-	1	7.1	3	15.8	1	7.1	4	21.0	3	21.3
2. Rape	115	100	132	100	1	0.9	5	3.8	12	9.6	15	11.4	10	8.7	17	12.9	23	19.2	37	28.1
Attempt rape	39	100	27	100	1	2.6	3	11.1	2	5.1	3	11.1	1	2.6	3	11.1	4	10.3	9	33.3
3. Robbery	1,172	100	3,663	100	33	2.8	173	4.8	102	8.7	641	17.5	58	4.9	189	5.1	193	16.4	1,003	27.4
Attempt robbery	126	100	282	100	3	2.2	23	8.2	13	10.3	40	14.2	3	2.2	16	5.7	19	14.7	79	28.1
4. Aggravated assault	3,067	100	2,474	100	71	2.3	75	3.0	358	11.7	295	12.0	163	5.3	87	3.5	592	19.3	457	18.5
5. Housebreaking	4,249	100	9,067	100	267	6.3	597	6.6	456	10.7	1,130	12.5	152	3.6	403	4.4	875	20.6	2,130	23.5
Attempt housebreaking	160	100	233	100	16	10.0	12	5.1	8	5.0	24	10.3	4	2.5	8	3.4	28	17.5	44	18.8
6. Larceny																				
$100 and over	915	100	1,621	100	51	5.6	50	3.0	71	7.8	121	7.5	23	2.5	29	1.8	145	15.9	200	12.3
Under $100	8,036	100	8,632	100	663	8.3	411	4.8	599	7.4	871	10.1	288	3.6	350	4.0	1,550	19.3	1,632	18.9
7. Auto theft	1,953	100	5,736	100	132	6.8	282	5.0	160	8.2	534	9.3	164	8.4	565	9.7	456	23.4	1,381	24.0
Total	19,929	100	32,053	100	1,239	6.2	1,633	5.1	1,790	9.0	3,691	11.5	878	4.4	1,679	5.2	3,907	19.6	7,003	21.8

[a]Percentage of Entire City total.

The 6th Precinct[1]

The 6th Precinct extends from the northern boundary of the District south to Buchanan Street and from Rock Creek on the West to North Capitol and Riggs Road on the East (see Figure 1).

In the northern third of the precinct, where Rock Creek Park dips back from 16th Street, lies one of the more affluent sections of the city. Homes are spacious and luxurious with beautiful lawns and shrubs. Across 16th Street, north of Walter Reed Hospital the houses are generally less imposing, but still of upper middle class style.

As one moves south and west away from 16th Street, affluence fades to varying degrees. The B & O Railroad runs northwest from the jog in Riggs Road to cross the District line about at the midpoint of the 17th census tract. Near the tracks, dwellings are of poorer structure and repair. East of the tracks and just north of Riggs Road nearly all of the housing is new and of brick. There are attractive single family dwellings across the street from blocks of row houses; small apartment buildings are interspersed with two-, three-, and four-family buildings. Still further north and west of the tracks, the houses are large, built of wood, on shaded streets, lined by large trees, but lawns and total area are limited.

Walter Reed Army Hospital separates the very affluent neighborhood of single family dwellings to the north from a clustering of apartment buildings and a few brick and frame single family dwellings just to the south. West of these and in the remainder of the precinct one finds all styles of single family units--row houses, attached single family dwellings, frame and brick detached houses--often of rather different

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[1]Social portraits of parts of the 6th and 14th Precincts as well as of other sections of the city are to be found in Laure M. Sharp, Ann Richardson and Carole Wolff, Social Organization and Life Patterns in the District of Columbia: A Survey of Selected Neighborhoods, Washington, D.C.: BSSR, March, 1965. (Mimeographed.)

quality from one side of the street to the other or from one block to the next. Going east from 16th Street in the southern half of the precinct one sees first several blocks of attached dwellings or row houses, then a few blocks of large, old frame houses, then another strip of row or detached houses of varying quality, and then again more pretentious homes as one nears North Capitol Street. Although the southern two-thirds and the western half of the precinct never approach the northern corner in level of affluence, here and there one sees homes of upper middle class level.

Color of housing more than anything else would clue one to neighborhood in the southern half of the precinct. Going east from 16th Street, most of the row and attached houses are weather-worn and are constructed of tan and light brown brick. The neighborhood is drab. As one nears North Capitol Street, construction is almost entirely of red brick, so that the contrast is dramatic.

Only Georgia Avenue is predominantly commercial.

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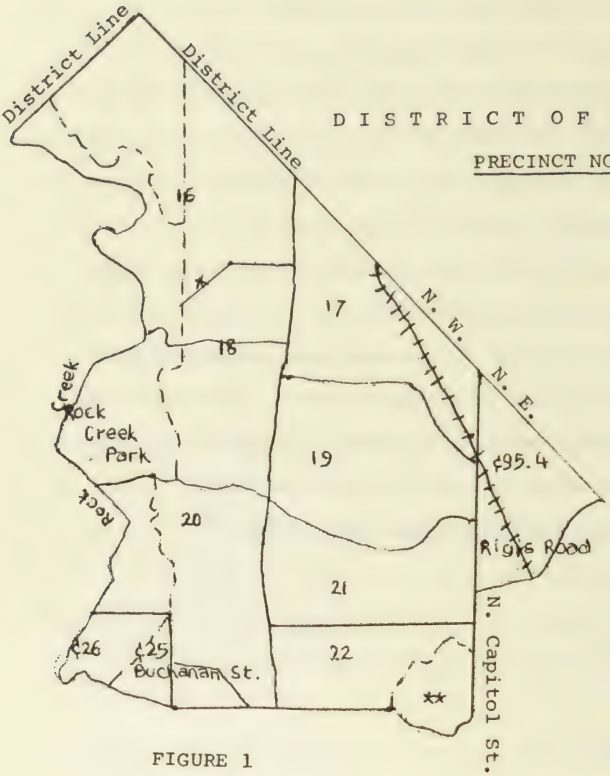

FIGURE 1

*Walter Reed Army Medical Center
**Rock Creek Cemetery
¢Only part of the census tract falls in the precinct.

The 10th Precinct

The 10th Precinct runs from Buchanan Street on the North to Euclid on the South, and from Rock Creek on the West to North Capitol Street on the East. Along the eastern boundary of the precinct one finds Trinity College, the northern buildings of Howard University, the Washington Hospital Center and the Soldiers' Home. As one moves west from the college and hospital area one sees several blocks of old four-and-a-half story houses each apparently housing several families. A little further west one comes upon the typical dwelling unit of this part of the city--the two-and-a-half-story, narrow, single family, row house. In some blocks, one dwelling is externally indistinguishable from another, but in many the bricks of the first house have been painted red, those of the next are white, and so on, so that only when one studies the architecture is it apparent there is little variety. Each house has a small porch, there is a small patch of lawn in front, and here and there shrubs and flowers lend color. Occasionally one sees a small apartment building or a detached family dwelling. A single block of newly rebuilt small houses in the northeastern part of the precinct suggests the future of at least part of the area. On the whole the dwellings east of 16th Street give no appearance of affluence. Near 13th and 14th Streets the dwellings are shabby; shades are pulled on the four-and-a-half story houses, curtains are grey, and lawns are uncultivated. (See Figure 2.)

West of 16th Street in the northern half of the precinct row houses are again the most common; some are a little larger and appear to have been divided for multiple occupancy. Along 16th Street and in the southwestern corner of the precinct near Rock Creek Park one finds many large apartment buildings along with detached one-family dwellings of a size and type to suggest higher socioeconomic status. Except for the usual spotty clustering of neighborhood shopping centers, only

[illegible]eet and the side streets adjoining it are commercial

D I S T R I C T O F C O L U M B I A

PRECINCT NO. 10

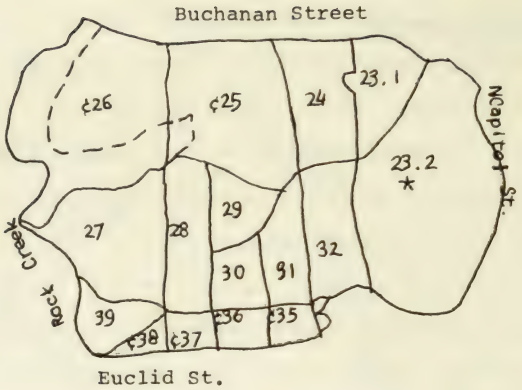

FIGURE 2

*Washington Hospital Center and Soldier's Home occupies all of tract 23.2.
¢Only part of the census tract falls in the precinct.

The 14th Precinct

The 14th Precinct lies east of the Anacostia River and north of Pennsylvania Avenue (see Figure 3). This is the only precinct in which census statistical area and precinct lines coincide. East Capitol Street divides the 13th from the 14th statistical area and the northeast from the southeast quadrants of the city.

Public housing is concentrated in this area, especially in the northern half of the precinct, and in that area the population is almost entirely Negro. Low income housing predominates although there is a sizable middle class.

North of East Capitol Street a super-highway along Kenilworth Avenue separates the people who live west of it from those who live to the east. The western edge of the cleared land, running north and south between Anacostia River Park and the highway, juts back and forth in a series of peninsulas that further divide the area into a set of fairly distinctive communities. Going north from East Capitol Street one sees first small apartment buildings, two-family flats and row houses. Just north of that, the land is used for industrial purposes. Then one finds another area of housing--two-family squat buildings, row houses, and moderate-sized, attractive apartment buildings. Most, if not all, are public housing. A highway exit separates these last from an area of fairly new and substantial single family dwellings which are followed to the north by smaller, shabby ones. On the last of the peninsulas of settlement, row houses and small apartment buildings are mixed with large, old single family dwellings and small modest ones.

East of Kenilworth Avenue, still in the northern half of the precinct, only two building styles appear with any frequency--large,

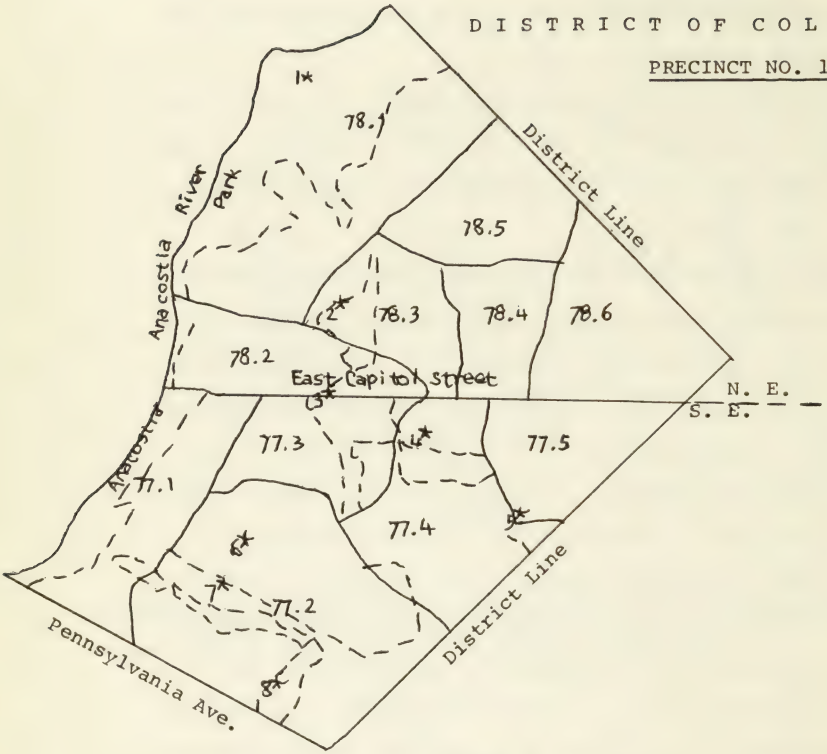

FIGURE 3

1*Anacostia Park, running continuously along the river
2*Fort Mahan Park
3*Fort Chaplin Park
4*Woodlawn and Payne Cemeteries
5*Benning Park
6*Fort DuPont Park and Golf Course
7*Pope Branch Park
8*Fort Davis Park

public housing apartment buildings and single family dwellings of all types and sizes. There are tiny, frame bungalows, old steeple-like frame houses, and new, modern brick ones of all sizes and shapes. Although some of the houses are fairly large and costly, the lawns and grounds are seldom so. On the whole the northern section gives an impression of lower socioeconomic status than the southern section but the quality of housing is mixed in all but the public housing sectors.

The dwellings in the southern half of the 14th Precinct, from East Capitol Street south to Pennsylvania Avenue, cluster around three sides of a large park in the center. On the West, between Minnesota Avenue and the Anacostia River, are many new, small apartment buildings and a few single family dwellings. The new single family dwellings are not especially large, but would indicate a middle-class style of life. The older ones, most of them bordering Minnesota Avenue, are small and many of them are in bad repair.

North of the Park most of the housing is fairly new, and the predominant style is the two-family unit--the two story, pink or red brick building which one might think was a single large house if it were not for the two front doors and street numbers above each door. Here and there one finds a small apartment building, and, occasionally, a barracks type structure, obviously built at minimum cost, and now missing windows, shutters, and the like. Apart from the small islands of extremely dilapidated one-story apartment buildings and a few single family dwellings in poor condition, the area immediately south of East Capitol Street gives an impression of stability, comfort and middle-class respectability, although not of creative architecture. There are whole blocks of identical buildings whose similarity is not disguised in any way.

South of the Park and east of Minnesota Avenue one finds a hilly residential area typical of the moderately affluent suburb of a large city. Most of the buildings are single family dwellings of larger than average size, with sizable lawns and multitudinous shrub and flowers. Affluence shades off to economy type structures in spots, but on the whole this area gives the impression of upper middle class composition.

Kenilworth, Minnesota and Pennsylvania Avenues are the major centers of commercial activity.

Comparisons between Precincts

Population Size

Population estimates for 1964 indicate an increase of population in all three precincts between 1960 and 1964. The 6th Precinct showed the largest increase, followed by the 10th and then by the 14th. This reverses the trend of the years between 1950 and 1960 when the population of the 14th Precinct increased by one-fifth, of the 6th by four per cent, and in the 10th the population decreased by three and a half per cent. Judging by appearances, many of the housing structures in the 14th Precinct have been constructed recently, which no doubt accounts for the tremendous increase in population during the 1950-60 decade. The more recent increase of population in the 6th and 10th Precincts appears to be due instead to the exodus of whites and an increased density of Negroes who have been moving into existing, older dwellings.

Composition by Race and Age

By the most recent estimates the District's population is two-thirds Negro, and the proportion is increasing. The white population

is older than the Negro; a July 1963 estimate shows twice as many whites as Negroes over the age of 45 in the three precincts covered by this study: In the 14th Precinct 16 per cent of the Negroes were thought to be over 45, compared to 37 per cent of the whites; in the 6th and 10th Precincts, about one-fourth of the Negroes and one-half of the whites were over 45. The Negro population is younger and the white population older than in the nation as a whole.[1]

Changes in racial composition are in part accounted for by the natural increase of the younger Negroes, but migration is also a factor. The Office of Urban Renewal estimated that between July 1, 1963, and July 1, 1964, 21,588 white persons moved from the District, while 8,294 Negroes moved in. The same pattern of movement has obtained for the past ten years, but the pace was accelerated during 1963-64, very likely because of civil rights activities. Although we have no hard figure estimates of the rate of change since that time, it is clear that the direction has not been reversed.

Figure 4 shows the estimated racial distribution as of July 1, 1964, by area within the three precincts of the study. Over-all about 90 per cent of the residents of the 14th Precinct, three-fourths of those in the 10th and a little more than half of those in the 6th Precincts were thought to be Negroes at that time.

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[1] Twenty-three per cent of the Negroes and 31% of the whites were over 45 in 1960. U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. 23.

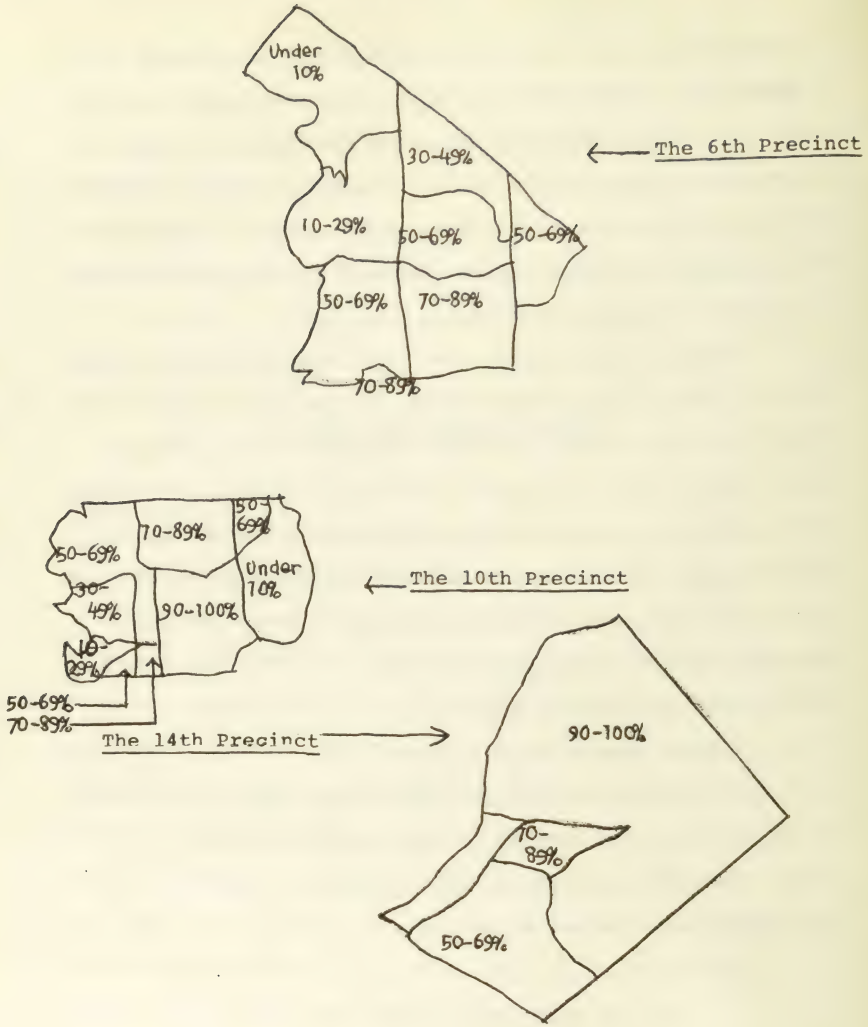

FIGURE 4

ESTIMATED RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THREE PRECINCTS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AS OF JULY 1, 1964[a]
(Percentage Negro)

[a]District of Columbia, Community Renewal Program, Office of Urban Renewal, Estimated Population of D.C. Census Tracts and Statistical Areas, July 1, 1964, December, 1965, p. 7.

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

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PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

A total of 291 people were interviewed early enough for including data from their questionnaires in this report. A quarter were from the 6th Precinct, a third from the 10th Precinct, and 40 per cent from the 14th Precinct. This section contains a brief description of the characteristics of the respondents and of the households in which they lived.

More of the respondents were women, which probably reflects the relative ease with which women can be reached at home, a factor typically affecting the collection of data during the earlier stages of any interviewing. The proportion of male respondents increased regularly from the 6th Precinct, where only 38 per cent responding were males, through the 10th Precinct to the 14th Precinct, where half were males.

The great majority of the respondents were Negroes, although again their proportion varied from precinct to precinct. Although Negroes are overrepresented in each precinct in relation to their share of the total population, their representation in the respondent group corresponds roughly to the relative preponderance of Negroes in the total precinct population. Thus, while only about three-quarters of the respondents in the 6th Precinct were Negroes, this proportion rose to 93 per cent in the 14th Precinct, an area of much greater Negro concentration, while the 10th Precinct, intermediate in over-all proportion Negro, was intermediate in proportion of Negro respondents (82%).

The respondents were a relatively mature group; just under half were between the ages of 36 and 55, and another fifth or so were 56 years or older. Fewer than 10 per cent in any precinct were in the lowest age range--18 to 21.

They were relatively well-educated, as well. Among the precincts, from 22 and 31 per cent had had at least some college work. There did not appear to be much difference between the precincts in proportion of respondents who had failed to get through high school (33% in the 6th, 38% in the 10th, and 35% in the 14th), but, as expected, the proportion of college graduates (including those who went beyond college to graduate school) was noticeably higher in the 6th Precinct (21%) than in the other two.

The respondents' jobs reflected this educational level. Discounting the fourth or so who were not in the labor force (housewives, the retired, students, etc.), very high proportions (between 75% and 93%) had white-collar or service occupations. The 6th Precinct respondents reported occupations at higher levels than those in the other precincts. At the highest level--professional, technical, and managerial occupations--44 per cent of the jobs were held by those in the 6th Precinct.

The respondent group as a whole appeared to be quite stable residentially, with many who had lived at the address at which they were interviewed for six years or more, and as many as 28 per cent (in the 14th Precinct) who had lived there for 16 years or longer. At the same time, however, there were sizable minorities who had lived there for relatively short periods. This was particularly the case in the 10th Precinct, where 41 per cent had lived at their present address for two years or less, and 17 per cent for less than nine months. This is

probably partially accounted for by the presence of off-campus Howard University students, but probably also reflects the recent immigration to the area of many people and families displaced from other parts of the city. Some of these newcomers are doubtless chronic wanderers, but others are people who are basically stable residentially, but have, for any number of reasons, recently had to move. This interpretation is given weight by the data on the respondents' residential history since 1950. Three-quarters and upward had lived mostly in Washington during that period, and, among those who had lived at their present address less than 16 years, around half had lived at one address for as long as ten years or more during the past 16 years.

The most residentially stable respondents were those of the 14th Precinct, where 28 per cent had lived at the same address since 1950 or earlier. This was true for 18 per cent in the 10th Precinct and 5 per cent in the 6th Precinct.

As a group the respondents were predominantly urban; most had lived primarily in big cities since 1950, and 10 per cent or less had lived most of that time in small towns or rural areas. Among those who had lived somewhere other than Washington since 1950, well over half in the 6th and 10th Precincts had lived in large cities (but usually smaller cities than Washington). This relationship was reversed among the residents of the 14th Precinct, where 75 per cent of the migrants to Washington came from small towns and farms. (This should be treated with caution since the magnitudes involved are small.)

In addition to giving information about themselves, the respondents reported on the household in which they were living. Single families constituted most of the households. A few were broken but the majority

were intact families with no one else living with them. An additional 12 to 20 per cent were intact families who also had one or more additional indivlduals living there. The highest proportion of households with no head (where the respondent lived alone or with roommates only) was in the 10th Precinct (8%). This probably represents university students living in off-campus housing, as well as rooming house residents. The large majority of households included at least one other person who was related to the respondent.

The median size of household was slightly larger among our cases than that for the District as a whole. The largest households were in the 14th Precinct, where the median size was 3.7 persons, with an average of just over 2 members under 17 years of age. This median deviates by only 0.1 from the median household size in the other precincts, however. The typical respondent lived in a household with 2+ adults and one child.

Most of the households were headed by men, although a third of those in the 10th Precinct were headed by women (as contrasted with around 20 per cent in the other precincts). This precinct also had the highest proportion of broken families.

The household heads were comparatively mature: most of them were 36 years of age or older, and between 16 and 24 per cent were people over 56. Approximately half of the households had no one under the age of 17 living there. The 10th Precinct had the slight edge on proportion of household with no youngsters, followed by the 6th Precinct.

The household heads' educational attainment was expectedly greatest in the 6th Precinct, and paralleled that found for the respondents. In that precinct 22 per cent of heads had finished four or more years of college, as opposed to only a little over 10 per cent in either of the

other two precincts. The household heads without college in the 14th Precinct were more likely than those in the other precincts to have graduated from high school (42%) than to have stopped sometime earlier (33%). Between 40 and 46 per cent of those in the 6th and 10th Precincts had failed to finish high school, and between 13 and 15 per cent had not finished grade school.

The heads of household in this group, in the main, hold fairly good jobs: between 60 and 70 per cent had white-collar or service occupations. Again, the occupations of the 6th Precinct household heads were disproportionately concentrated in the professional and technical category, which accounted for 22 per cent of the occupations there, but only 13 per cent of those in the 10th Precinct and 11 per cent in the 14th Precinct. The jobs of the heads in the latter two precincts were more likely to be in service, which occupied between 27 and 30 per cent of the heads there. Noticeable proportions of the heads of household in each precinct were not in the labor force. This was true for 19 per cent of those in the 6th Precinct, 14 per cent in the 10th Precinct, and 16 per cent in the 14th Precinct.

The weekly earnings of the household head (where he or she was in the labor force) were also greatest in the 6th Precinct: those heads earned a median of $116 a week. Earnings in the 14th Precinct were close behind at $113 weekly, but those in the 10th Precinct dropped to a median of just over $101. Of the heads in the 10th Precinct 40 per cent earned less than $100 a week. These medians are nevertheless relatively high in comparison with the District as a whole; the standard wage for a construction laborer yields only $50 a week when the weather is good.

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Figures on home ownership generally reflect the affluence of the 6th Precinct compared to the 10th and 14th Precincts. In the 6th Precinct, 58 per cent of the respondents owned their homes. Figures for the 10th and 14th Precincts were 44 per cent and 47 per cent respectively. The market value of the homes owned by the respondents also underscores the difference between the 6th Precinct, where the median market value was $21,450, and the two other precincts where the median market values were $17,400 (10th Precinct) and $16,450 (14th Precinct).

Median rents paid by the nonhomeowners were: $81.00 (6th Precinct); $96.00 (10th Precinct); and $99.00 (14th Precinct). That the median rent in the most affluent precinct was the lowest raises questions for which, at this time, there are no answers. One might attribute this finding to the fact that there were only 31 renters in the 6th Precinct compared to 56 in the 10th Precinct and 61 in the 14th Precinct. Thirty-one respondents might well be too few from which to generalize a median rent for the precinct.

Condition of the respondents' housing was rated by the interviewers in most cases as "sound"--97 per cent in the 6th Precinct; 78 per cent in the 10th Precinct; and 81 per cent in the 14th Precinct. In the 10th Precinct, 16 per cent of the respondents' housing was rated "deteriorating" and 5 per cent "dilapidated." The 14th Precinct had comparable figures: 15 per cent "deteriorating" and 3 per cent "dilapidated."

Interviewers determined by observation (rather than by direct questioning) the type of housing respondents lived in. Percentages of respondents living in single family houses were: 73 per cent (6th Precinct); 55 per cent (10th Precinct); and 61 per cent (14th Precinct).

These figures are remarkably high, particularly in the 10th and 14th Precincts. Two possible explanations, not necessarily mutually exclusive, may account for the unexpectedly high number of families living in single family housing. A high proportion of the "apartment interviews" in the sample were not completed in time to be included in this preliminary analysis. The other explanation is methodological. There is a high probability that the interviewers "observed" and rated many single family houses which were, in fact, partially rented to other families or other individuals. In other words, the respondents and their families were not the sole occupants of what appeared to the interviewers to be single family houses.

Also by observation, interviewers rated the type of street on which the respondent lived. In all three precincts, 84 per cent of the respondents lived on residential streets with moderate to light traffic. This finding is congruent with the market value of the houses in the three precincts as well as the median rents as there is an obvious positive relationship between high value of housing and the lack of commerce and traffic on the streets on which the houses are situated.

An extremely high percentage of all respondents had their own telephones: 99 per cent (6th Precinct); 88 per cent (10th Precinct); and 92 per cent (14th Precinct). Car ownership was reasonably high. Either the respondent himself or some member of his family owned a car in 82 per cent of the cases in the 6th Precinct; in 58 per cent in the 10th Precinct; and 68 per cent in the 14th Precinct. In addition, 17 per cent of the respondents in both the 6th and the 14th Precincts belonged to two-car (or more) families. In the 10th Precinct, only

7 per cent of the families owned two cars. The decidedly lower number of two car families in the 10th Precinct may be partially attributed to a generally lower level of affluence compared to the 6th Precinct and greater convenience of location and public transportation compared to the 14th Precinct.

In summary, the respondents and their families seem to be a relatively stable, mature, urbanized, family-surrounded, well-educated, well-housed group, with good and well-paying jobs. There are exceptions to this, of course, in the broken homes, the displaced newcomers to the area, the students, and the 10 to 23 per cent who held blue-collar jobs. But the exceptions are at the same time representative of minorities and reminders of the heterogeneity of the respondent group.

APPENDIX C

CORRELATION MATRIX: ATTITUDE SCORES AND SELECTED RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

APPENDIX C

TABLE I

CORRELATION MATRIX: ATTITUDE SCORES AND SELECTED RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS
(Three Precincts)

C-1

	ROW	Sex and Race	Precinct of Residence	Crime Exposure Score	Times Victimized	Social Relations with Police	Is Crime Increasing?	Prepolice Score	Too Much Attention to Rights?	Sentences Too Lenient?	Sex of Household Head
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sex and race	1	1.00	-0.18	0.04	0.15	0.10	0.00	0.24	-0.04	-0.02	0.33
Precinct of residence	2	-0.18	1.00	-0.01	-0.03	-0.16	0.00	-0.12	-0.04	-0.05	-0.00
Crime exposure score	3	0.04	-0.01	1.00	0.70	-0.07	-0.04	-0.04	0.13	-0.03	0.01
Times victimized	4	0.15	-0.03	0.70	1.00	0.01	-0.03	0.05	0.07	-0.06	0.01
Social relations with police	5	0.10	-0.16	-0.07	0.01	1.00	0.02	0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.08
Is crime increasing?	6	0.00	0.00	-0.04	-0.03	0.02	1.00	-0.05	-0.12	-0.12	-0.01
Propolice score	7	0.24	-0.12	-0.04	0.05	0.04	-0.05	1.00	0.09	-0.08	0.09
Too much attention to rights?	8	-0.04	-0.04	0.13	0.07	-0.01	-0.12	0.09	1.00	0.23	-0.02
Sentences too lenient?	9	-0.02	-0.05	-0.03	-0.06	0.05	-0.12	-0.08	0.23	1.00	0.05
Sex of household head	10	0.33	-0.00	0.01	0.01	0.08	-0.01	0.09	-0.02	0.05	1.00
Age of respondent	11	0.08	-0.06	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	0.03	0.01	-0.08	-0.20	-0.01
Residential stability	12	0.10	0.12	-0.01	0.03	-0.11	0.11	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.00
Education	13	0.12	-0.11	0.03	0.10	-0.14	-0.08	0.16	0.11	0.03	0.01
Household type	14	0.10	-0.02	-0.00	0.01	0.07	-0.06	-0.02	-0.01	0.07	0.52
Children in household	15	-0.20	0.04	0.09	0.05	0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.10
Do neighbors commit crimes?	16	-0.05	-0.07	-0.04	-0.08	0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.00	-0.04	0.02
Chose residence for safety	17	-0.09	0.10	0.04	-0.01	0.04	0.05	-0.09	0.02	0.04	-0.07
Is neighborhood safe?	18	0.12	0.09	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.00	-0.01	-0.07	-0.01	0.08
Want to move away?	19	-0.10	-0.12	-0.06	-0.08	0.08	-0.08	0.12	0.07	0.13	-0.10
Neighbors quiet	20	-0.03	0.17	0.05	0.00	-0.05	0.03	-0.08	-0.02	0.06	0.02
Neighborhood dissatisfaction score	21	0.09	0.18	0.07	0.08	-0.05	0.07	-0.14	-0.06	-0.01	0.08
Knowledge of law enforcement	22	-0.13	0.16	-0.02	-0.00	-0.23	0.03	0.00	-0.08	-0.11	-0.09
Self-protection score	23	0.17	0.11	0.01	0.08	-0.05	0.11	-0.03	-0.13	-0.16	0.14
Recommends repressive measures	24	-0.04	0.01	-0.08	-0.09	0.12	-0.13	-0.03	0.07	0.20	-0.02
Income	25	0.06	-0.04	0.02	0.06	-0.12	-0.02	0.03	0.07	-0.02	-0.23
Crime anxiety score	26	-0.05	0.22	0.01	-0.00	-0.06	0.39	-0.18	-0.10	-0.04	0.02

TABLE 1--Continued

	ROW	Age of Respondent	Residential Stability	Education	Household Type	Children in Household	Do Neighbors Commit Crimes?	Chose Residence for Safety	Is Neighborhood Safe?	Want to Move Away?	Neighbors Quiet
Sex and race	1	0.08	0.10	0.12	0.10	-0.20	-0.05	-0.09	0.12	-0.10	-0.03
Precinct of residence	2	-0.06	0.12	-0.11	-0.02	0.04	-0.07	0.10	0.09	-0.12	0.17
Crime exposure score	3	-0.05	-0.01	0.03	-0.00	0.09	-0.04	0.04	0.03	-0.06	0.05
Times victimized	4	-0.02	0.03	0.10	0.01	0.05	-0.08	-0.01	0.07	-0.08	0.00
Social relations with police	5	-0.02	-0.11	-0.14	0.07	0.00	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.08	-0.05
Is crime increasing?	6	0.03	0.11	-0.08	-0.06	0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.00	-0.08	0.03
Propolice score	7	0.01	0.05	0.16	-0.02	-0.01	0.05	-0.09	-0.01	0.12	-0.08
Too much attention to rights?	8	-0.08	0.01	0.11	-0.01	-0.03	0.00	0.02	-0.07	0.07	-0.02
Sentences too lenient?	9	-0.20	0.00	0.03	0.07	-0.01	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	0.13	0.06
Sex of household head	10	-0.01	0.00	0.01	0.52	-0.10	0.02	-0.07	0.08	-0.10	0.02
Age of respondent	11	1.00	0.20	-0.17	-0.08	-0.05	0.05	-0.01	-0.04	0.03	-0.05
Residential stability	12	0.20	1.00	-0.01	-0.05	-0.12	-0.03	0.02	0.01	-0.03	0.02
Education	13	-0.17	-0.01	1.00	0.03	-0.09	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	0.06	-0.07
Household type	14	-0.08	-0.05	0.03	1.00	-0.17	-0.01	-0.04	0.07	-0.06	0.01
Children in household	15	-0.05	-0.12	-0.09	-0.17	1.00	0.01	-0.07	0.02	-0.07	0.05
Do neighbors commit crimes?	16	0.05	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	1.00	0.03	-0.26	0.28	-0.32
Chose residence for safety	17	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.04	-0.07	0.03	1.00	-0.12	0.07	-0.03
Is neighborhood safe?	18	-0.04	0.01	-0.03	0.07	0.02	-0.26	-0.12	1.00	-0.52	0.48
Want to move away?	19	0.03	-0.03	0.06	-0.06	-0.07	0.28	0.07	-0.52	1.00	-0.46
Neighbors quiet	20	-0.05	0.02	-0.07	0.01	0.05	-0.32	-0.03	0.48	-0.46	1.00
Neighborhood dissatisfaction score	21	-0.06	0.01	-0.07	0.03	0.06	-0.56	-0.06	0.68	-0.77	0.78
Knowledge of law enforcement	22	0.04	0.12	0.19	-0.11	-0.12	-0.06	0.03	0.02	-0.05	0.03
Self-protection score	23	0.10	0.05	-0.04	0.03	-0.02	-0.03	0.01	0.08	-0.17	0.03
Recommends repressive measures	24	-0.13	-0.04	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.01	-0.04	0.10	-0.01
Income	25	0.08	0.03	0.37	-0.17	-0.04	0.02	0.02	-0.11	0.07	-0.14
Crime anxiety score	26	0.01	0.07	-0.11	-0.03	0.05	-0.22	0.15	0.51	-0.63	0.60

TABLE 1--Continued

	ROW	Neighborhood Dissatisfaction Score	Knowledge of Law Enforcement	Self-Protection Score	Recommends Repressive Measures	Income	Crime Anxiety Score
		21	22	23	24	25	26
Sex and race	1	0.09	-0.13	0.17	-0.04	0.06	-0.05
Precinct of residence	2	0.18	0.16	0.11	0.01	-0.04	0.22
Crime exposure score	3	0.07	-0.02	0.01	-0.08	0.02	0.01
Times victimized	4	0.06	-0.00	0.08	-0.09	0.06	-0.00
Social relations with police	5	-0.05	-0.23	-0.05	0.12	-0.12	-0.06
Is crime increasing?	6	0.07	0.03	0.11	-0.13	-0.02	0.39
Propolice score	7	-0.14	0.00	-0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.18
Too much attention to rights?	8	-0.06	-0.08	-0.13	0.07	0.07	-0.17
Sentences too lenient?	9	-0.01	-0.11	-0.15	0.20	-0.02	-0.04
Sex of household head	10	0.09	-0.09	0.14	-0.02	-0.23	0.02
Age of respondent	11	-0.06	0.04	0.10	-0.13	0.08	0.01
Residential stability	12	0.01	0.12	0.05	-0.04	0.03	0.07
Education	13	-0.07	0.19	-0.04	0.02	0.37	-0.11
Household type	14	0.03	-0.11	0.03	0.09	-0.17	-0.03
Children in household	15	0.06	-0.12	-0.02	0.02	-0.04	0.05
Do neighbors commit crimes?	16	-0.56	-0.06	-0.03	0.05	0.02	-0.22
Chose residence for safety	17	-0.06	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.15
Is neighborhood safe?	18	0.68	0.02	0.08	-0.04	-0.11	0.51
Want to move away?	19	-0.77	-0.05	-0.17	0.10	0.07	-0.63
Neighbors quiet	20	0.78	0.03	0.03	-0.01	-0.14	0.60
Neighborhood dissatisfaction score	21	1.00	0.04	0.13	-0.06	-0.14	0.68
Knowledge of law enforcement	22	0.04	1.00	0.05	-0.12	0.20	0.04
Self-protection score	23	0.13	0.05	1.00	-0.09	-0.05	0.16
Recommends repressive measures	24	-0.06	-0.12	-0.09	1.00	-0.02	-0.10
Income	25	-0.14	0.20	-0.05	-0.02	1.00	-0.11
Crime anxiety score	26	0.68	0.04	0.16	-0.10	-0.11	1.00

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW MATERIALS*

*Interview materials used in 13th Precinct are identical to those incorporated in University of Michigan "Resident Survey" report in this volume.

Bureau of Social Science Research
BSSR 382-1
April, 1966

Bureau of the Budget No.: 116-614
Approval Expires: June 30, 1966

COVER SHEET
D.C. Resident Study

Above space for office use only

1. John Smith
Interviewer's Name

2. Date of Interview 6/15/66

3. Length of Interview (min.) 105

4. Address 1920 19th Street, N. W.
Street Apt.

5. Census Tract 40

6. ID No. 3154

7. Is there more than one dwelling unit at the sample address? [Yes--list each in 8] [No]

[If "yes" in item 7, please add to the address in item 4 the apartment number or description of the sample dwelling for which this cover sheet is used; add suffix to ID no.]

8. LIST EACH DWELLING UNIT. IF THERE ARE MORE THAN 4 LISTINGS, CONTACT THE SUPERVISOR: IF THERE ARE 4 OR FEWER LISTINGS MAKE COVER SHEETS FOR EACH AND INTERVIEW AT EACH DWELLING.

Add Suffix to ID No.	Apartment number or description of dwelling unit location within structure
a.	
b.	
c.	
d.	

9. INTERVIEWER: -- Select your R by the following four steps:

1. In Col. (a) below, list by the relationship to, or connection with, the Head, all persons age 18 or over, or the household head regardless of age.
2. Enter in Cols. (b) and (c) of the listing box the sex and age of each person.
3. Assign and enter an "adult number" in Col. (d) for each person by numbering the males first and then the females as follows: The oldest male gets #1, the next oldest male #2, the third oldest #3, and so on; continue numbering sequence with females by starting with the oldest, then the next oldest, and so on.
4. Using the Selection Table below, determine which adult in the DU is your Respondent. In Col. (e) check selected respondent. MAKE NO SUBSTITUTION.

(a) Adults by Relationship to OR CONNECTION with HEAD	(b) Sex	(c) Age	(d) Adult No.	(e) Check R (✓)
HEAD of household	M	50	1	✓
	F	49	2	
	M	21	3	

SELECTION TABLE A

If the number of adults in the dwelling is:	Interview the adult numbered:
1	1
2	1
3	(1)
4	1
5	1
6 or more	1

FILL OUT CALL RECORD FOR BOTH INTERVIEWS AND NONRESPONSES:

CALL RECORD

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more
Hour of Day (plus a.m. or p.m.)								
Date								
Day of the Week								
Results								

NONRESPONSE FORM

1. INTERVIEWER: Check one:

( ) NAH - No one at Home
( ) RA - Respondent Absent
( ) REF - Refusal
( ) OTHER - Other reason for nonresponse; explain below
( ) HV - House Vacant
( ) AND - Address Not a Dwelling
( ) OPB - Outside Precinct Boundary

2. INTERVIEWER: Please supply as much of the following information as you can, without making inquiries of neighbors.

a. Check one: Most entries based on: 1 ( ) ACTUAL INFORMATION, obtained from → 1. ( ) CHILD 2. ( ) ADULT
2. ( ) GOOD GUESS 3. NO ENTRIES; IMPOSSIBLE TO GUESS

b. Type of structure in which household lives:

1. ( ) DETACHED SINGLE DWELLING 2. ( ) 2-4 HOUSEHOLD DWELLING; DUPLEX; ROW HOUSE
3. ( ) APARTMENT HOUSE (5 or more units)
4. ( ) APARTMENT IN A PARTLY COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE 5. ( ) OTHER (specify)_____

c. Estimated income level of household:

1. ( ) UNDER $5,000 2. ( ) $5,000 - $10,000 3. ( ) OVER $10,000

d. How many adults in household?

1. ( ) ONE (SKIP TO Q. f) 2. ( ) TWO 3. ( ) MORE THAN TWO

e. Is there a married couple in this household? 1. ( ) YES 2. ( ) NO

f. Race: 1. ( ) WHITE 2. ( ) NEGRO 3. ( ) OTHER_____

g. Sex of: 1. ( ) Head
2. ( ) Respondent
3. ( ) Person answering door
is: 4. ( ) MALE
5. ( ) FEMALE

h. Estimated age of head:
1. ( ) LESS THAN 18 2. ( ) 18-24 3. ( ) 25-34 4. ( ) 35-44 5. ( ) 45-64 6. ( ) 65 OR OVER

3. INTERVIEWER: Space for COMMENTS on this non-interview situation

Bureau of Social Science Research
BSSR 382-F101
April, 1966

D.C. Resident Study
Tract 40
ID No. 3154 *

LISTING FORM FOR APARTMENT STRUCTURES
WITH LESS THAN 15 APARTMENTS

Selected Address: 1920 19th Street, N. W.

INSTRUCTIONS: 1. On the listing form below, list all dwelling units at this address, recording the apartment number or description of each DU on a separate line.

2. Then remove the black tape (see below) and assign cover sheets to the dwelling units according to sample line numbers appearing under the tape. Caution - assign cover sheets only to DU's designated by the line numbers appearing under the tape.

Selected Lines: 3, 16

Line No. (1)	Apartment number or description of dwelling unit (2)	Selected Line (Please check selected line(s) according to number(s) under tape (3)
1	Janitor's apt. - 1st Floor	
2	Apt. 1A - " "	
3	#101 - 2nd Floor	✓
4	102 - " "	
5	103 - " "	
6	104 - " "	
7	201 - 3rd Floor	
8	202 - " "	
9	203 - " "	
10	204 - " "	
11	301 - 4th Floor	
12	302 - " "	
13	303 - " "	
14	304 - " "	

*If more than one apartment is selected for the sample, assign a unique ID No. to each by adding in sequence a, b, c etc. as a suffix to the ID No. appearing in the upper right-hand corner of this sheet. Record the ID No. to the right of the selection number in column 3.

Bureau of Social Science Research
BSSR 382-F102
April, 1966

D.C. Resident Study

Tract 38

ID No. 3100

LISTING FORM FOR APARTMENT STRUCTURES
WITH 15 OR MORE APARTMENTS

Selected Address 2110 18th Street, N. W.

NOTE: Please use one line per each floor. Be sure to include basement apartments, janitor's quarters, manager's apartment, and penthouse apartments.

Floor Number (1)	Range of Apt. Nos. (i.e., 1-10) (2)	Total Apts. (3)	Cumulation (4)	Selection Number(s) (5)	Entry in Col.5 Minus Entry on Previous Line in Col. 4 (6)	Selected Apt. No. (7)
1st	1-4	4	4			
2nd	21-24	4	8			
3rd	31-34	4	12			
4th	41-44	4	16	16	(16-12) = 4	4-4

Selection Numbers 16, 32

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS[1]

Neighborhood

1. About how long have you lived at this address? (IF MORE THAN 15, SKIP TO 4)

2. Just before you moved here, where did you live?

   2A. For how long did you live there?

   2B. Since 1950, what is the longest time you have lived at any one address?

3. If you think back to about 1950, since that time, where have you lived most of the time?

4. When (you/your family) decided to move here where you live now, would you say (you/they) thought more about the kind of (house/apartment) you were moving into, or the kind of neighborhood?

   4A. What was it about the neighborhood that you liked particularly? (PROBE FOR MOST IMPORTANT)

5. When you think about the chances of getting robbed or beaten up or anything of that sort, would you say your neighborhood is very safe as compared to other neighborhoods in town (SKIP TO Q6), about average, less safe than most, one of the worst in town?

   5A. Is there so much trouble in this neighborhood that you would like to move away from here if you could?

6. Are most of your neighbors quiet and law-abiding, or are there some who make trouble in the neighborhood? (IF SOME--ASK: Many or only a few?)

7. How about crimes happening in your neighborhood--would you say that they are committed mostly by the people who live here in this neighborhood or by outsiders?

   7A. What types of people do you think they might be?

---

[1]For economy of space, this section does not reproduce the interview schedule actually employed, precodes and coding instructions have been deleted.

Victimization

8. I am going to show you some cards about different kinds of crimes. I would like you to tell me if any of the things on each card have happened to you personally in 1965 or 1966. By a crime, I mean anything somebody could be sent to prison or fined for doing to you or even trying to do. (IF RESPONDENT BALKS AT SERIES, SAYING HE HAS NEVER HAD ANY CRIMES HAPPEN TO HIM, SAY:) We have found that many of the things we are interested in are hard to remember unless we ask specifically about them. I'm sure we'll find going through the cards a big help.

   PROCEED THROUGH OFFENSE CARD SERIES, READING ALL ITEMS ON EACH CARD, GIVING RESPONDENT AMPLE TIME TO CONSIDER AND REPLY TO EACH ITEM ON EACH CARD. COMPLETE INCIDENT FORM FOR EACH POSITIVE RESPONSE IMMEDIATELY WHEN IT IS GIVEN.

   ASK WHETHER THE SAME KIND OF CRIME AS THAT JUST DESCRIBED HAS HAPPENED TO RESPONDENT AT ANY OTHER TIME DURING 1965-66. IF SO, COMPLETE ADDITIONAL INCIDENT FORM(S).

   RETURN TO CARD SERIES WHERE INTERRUPTED.

9. (IF RESPONDENT LIVES ALONE, SKIP TO Q10) I am going to go through the cards again now, and this time I would like to know if any of the things on each card have happened to anyone who lives here with you--that is, anything that has happened in 1965 or 1966.

   FOLLOW SAME INSTRUCTIONS AS UNDER Q8 ABOVE.

10. Now thinking back over your entire life, what would you say was the worst crime that has ever happened to you--the very worst thing in all your life?

    COMPLETE INCIDENT FORM, BEING SURE TO CHECK "WORST" AT TOP. IF INCIDENT IS THE SAME AS ONE REPORTED AS 1965-66, BE SURE WHICH ONE IT IS AND CHECK "WORST" AT TOP OF INCIDENT FORM ALREADY COMPLETED.

11. How about other members of your household--what would you say was the very worst crime that ever happened to any one of them?

    COMPLETE INCIDENT FORM BEING SURE TO CHECK "WORST" AT TOP. IF INCIDENT IS SAME AS ONE REPORTED AS 1965-66, BE SURE WHICH ONE IT IS AND CHECK "WORST" AT TOP OF INCIDENT FORM ALREADY COMPLETED.

12. (Other than what you have told me about already) has any relative or close friend of yours ever been killed or seriously injured as a result of a crime? (IF ASKED FOR DEFINITION, "SERIOUSLY INJURED" MEANS: Requiring a stay in the hospital or permanent physical impairment.)

266-053 O - 67 - 15

12A. (IF YES:) Could you tell me when that happened--or if there was more than one such terrible case, the most recent time such a thing happened?

12B. How close was your relationship to this person?

12C. Did this case involve a death or serious injury?

13. Has there ever been a time when something happened to you that you could have reported to the police but that you preferred to settle for yourself?

14. Sometimes you hear people say about something that happened to them, "I don't know whether that was against the law, but a person should be punished for doing something like that." (Besides what you've told me about already), has anyone done anything to you recently that made you feel like that? (IF NO, PROBE:) I mean where someone cheated you or harmed you in a way that made you feel whoever did it should be punished . . . even though nothing could be done the way things stand now.

14A. i. (IF YES:) Can you tell me what happened to you?

ii. Who did it? Who was responsible?

iii. When did it happen?

Reporting

15. Besides the things that have happened to you or the other people in your house, have you ever <u>seen</u> anything happening that you thought was a crime or probably a crime?

15A. (IF YES:) What was the most recent case? Tell me about it.

16. Did you call or tell the police about it? (IF NO, PROBE: Did you get someone else to report it?)

16A. (IF NO TO Q16:) Why didn't you tell the police about it? (PROBE FULLY. IF MORE THAN ONE REASON GIVEN, ASK WHICH WAS <u>MOST</u> IMPORTANT.)

17. (IF YES TO Q16:) Did you ever see a crime or something that looked like it might be a crime and not tell the police about it? (IF NO, PROBE:) You never saw any other crime?

17A. (IF YES:) Why didn't you report it? (PROBE FULLY, IF MORE THAN ONE REASON GIVEN, ASK WHICH WAS <u>MOST</u> IMPORTANT.)

18. Suppose that somebody was breaking into a house and somebody around here saw it but didn't call the police. What would probably be the reason he did't call them? (IF MORE THAN ONE REASON GIVEN, ASK WHICH WAS MOST IMPORTANT.)

Courts

19. Have you ever had to go to court to be a witness in a criminal case?

19A. i. (IF YES:) When was that?

ii. Where was that?

iii. Were you a witness for the defense or the prosecution?

20. If you were to have the same kind of information again, would you volunteer to be a witness?

21. (Other than what you've already told me) did anyone ever ask you to be a witness? (IF YES TO 19, PROBE: Were you?)

21A. (IF WAS ASKED, BUT WAS NOT A WITNESS:) Why weren't you?

22. (IF MARRIED) How about your (wife/husband)--was (she/he) ever a witness?

22A. i. (IF YES:) When was that?

ii. Where was that?

23. Have you ever served on a jury or a grand jury?

24. From what you hear, do you think that the criminal courts in Washington give people accused of crimes a fair trial?

25. How about the sentences that are generally handed out in criminal cases here, do you think the courts more often let people off too easy, or are they too harsh, or about right?

26. Have you had any experience of your own that affected your ideas of how the courts treat people who are arrested?

Police

27. Is any member of your household a policeman?

(IF RESPONDENT LIVES ALONE: Were you ever a policeman?)

(IF YES, SKIP TO Q38)

28. I am going to read a number of things some people say about the police. I'd like you to tell me each time whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

28A. By and large, the Washington police have a very high reputation in this neighborhood. Do you agree or disagree?

28B. The police deserve more respect than people in this neighborhood give them. Do you agree or disagree?

28C. The police ought to have leeway to act tough with people when they have to. Do you agree or disagree?

28D. There would be more cooperation with the police if there were more Negroes on the police force. Do you agree or disagree?

28E. You would have to replace at least half the police now on the force to get a really good police force. Do you agree or disagree?

28F. People who are willing to take on the tough job of being a policeman deserve a lot more thanks and respect than they get from the public. Do you agree or disagree?

28G. Policemen should get much more pay than they do now. Do you agree or disagree?

28H. The police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the really bad things going on. Do you agree or disagree?

28I. There should be more use of police dogs than there is now. Do you agree or disagree?

28J. A young man who had a choice between being a policeman and getting a job paying just as much in the construction business would be making a mistake if he became a policeman. Do you agree or disagree?

28K. There are just a few policemen who are responsible for the bad publicity the police department gets. Do you agree or disagree?

28L. People who know the ropes and have money to afford good lawyers don't have anything to worry about from the police. Do you agree or disagree?

28M. There seem to be many police who just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time. Do you agree or disagree?

28N. Too much attention is being given to protecting the rights of people who get into trouble with the police. Do you agree or disagree?

29. As compared with other policemen, would you say, from what you've heard or seen, that motorcycle policemen are better, worse, or about the same as other Washington police?

30. Do you think the police get along better, worse, or about the same with the people who live in this neighborhood as they do with people in other neighborhoods in Washington?

30A. Why do you think that's the case?

31. Do you have a good friend or a relative who is a policeman?

31A. (IF NO:) Do you know any policemen well enough to call them by name?

31B. (IF NO TO Q31A:) Do you know any policemen well enough to say hello to?

32. When was the last time you talked to a policeman about something official--like getting a ticket or reporting something that was wrong? (IF NEVER, PROBE: Not even for anything like getting a driver's license or anything like that?)

32A. What was that about?

33. On the whole did the policeman (policemen) in this case act as you think (he/they) should (ASK <u>BOTH</u> 33A and B)?

33A. What did you like about the way (he/they) acted?

33B. What didn't you like about the way (he/they) acted?

34. What was the last time you talked to a policeman purely socially--like just to say hello or just out of curiosity to ask what was going on?

35. (IF THERE IS ANY DOUBT, ASK:) Which contact was <u>most</u> recent?

36. Have you yourself ever seen a policeman doing anything you felt was wrong or against the law?

37. If a man is a Negro, do you think this usually makes a difference in how he is treated by the police in Washington?

37A. (IF YES:) In what way?

<u>Safeguards</u>

38. Do you own or rent this (house/apartment)?

39. Since there has been all this talk about crime, have you yourself done anything in any way to protect yourself against the dangers of crime?

39A. Have you done anything about your (house/apartment)? (IF YES, PROBE: When did you start to do this?)

39B. (IF RENTS, ASK:) Have the owners or managers of the building done anything to protect it from crime or mischief: (IF YES, PROBE: When did they start to do this?)

39C. Have you done anything about your car? (IF YES, PROBE: When did you start to do this?)

39D. Have you changed your habits in any way because of fear of crime: (IF YES, PROBE: When did you start to do this?)

39E. When you go out, do you ever carry anything to protect yourself? (IF YES, PROBE: What do you carry? When do you do this?)

39F. Have you taken out or added insurance against burglary or theft from your (house/apartment)? (IF SAYS INTENDS TO INSURE, ASK: Have you gotten some idea of how much such insurance will cost you?)

40. Do you or does any member of the household own a firearm (a gun of any kind--pistol, rifle, shotgun)?

40A. (IF YES:) Is the weapon for use in hunting or protection or perhaps some of both?

41. As far as crime goes, do you think things have been getting better or getting worse in Washington during the past year?

41A. Why is that?

42. What do you think would be the most important thing that can be done here in Washington to cut down the amount of crime that goes on?

42A. Anything else?

General Information

43. Do you know the name of the chief of police here in Washington? (ADD, IF NECESSARY: THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.)

44. About how many people would you guess are murdered in the District each month: Just give me your best guess. (PROBE: 1, 5, 10, 50, 100?)

45. If you have to go to the District Court because you were a witness to a crime, would you be paid anything by the government for the time you had to spend there?

45A. (IF YES:) Do you happen to know how much a witness is paid in District Court?

46. Would you be paid anything for the time you had to spend in District Court if you were on jury-duty?

46A. (IF YES:) Do you know how much a jury-member is paid?

47. If you were accused of a crime and you knew of someone who could clear your name but for some reason didn't want to get involved, could you do anything to make that person make a statement at your trial? How?

48. Would you say there has been an increase in violent crime here in Washington? I mean attacks on people -- like shootings, stabbings, and rapes. Would you say that there's now very much more of this sort of thing, just a little bit more, not much difference, or that there is no more than five years ago? (IF RESPONDENT HAS BEEN A RESIDENT LESS THAN 5 YEARS: Well, from what you've heard . . .)

49. Where do you get most of your information about these things we just talked about -- such things as the police, how much crime there is, how the courts operate, and so forth?

General Data on Household

50. How many people are there in your family who live at this address with you (NOT COUNTING RESPONDENT)?

51. Are there any (other) people who share this (house/apartment) with you?

52. What is your relationship to the head of the household?

53. Sex of Respondent.

54. What is your age?

55. Are you married, widowed, divorced, separated, never married?

56. What is your occupation?

57. What is the highest grade you attended in school?

58. What is the occupation of the head of the household?

59. About how much does he make in a week?

60. What is his marital status?

61. Sex of head.

62. How old is the head?

63. What was the last grade in school attended by the head?

64. Have all the people living here now lived here since January 1965?

65. Has anyone moved out of the household since January 1965 (INCLUDE DECEASED)?

66. Which of the people living here were working at a regular job last week?

67. Does anyone here work nights -- 3 nights a week or more outside the home regularly?

68. Is there someone, other than a child under 10, who is usually at home here during the day?

69. Do you have a telephone here in this (house/apartment)?

69A. (IF NO AND LIVES IN A MULTIDWELLING, ASK:) Is there a phone in the building that you can use whenever you want to?

70. Do you own an automobile?

71. Does anyone else in the family (living here with you) own an automobile?

72. (IF YES TO 70 or 71:) Do these automobiles have theft insurance or a comprehensive policy that includes theft insurance?

73. Are you a licensed driver?

74. Is anyone else in your household?

75. How near by is the closest store that sells liquor?

76. (IF RENTS:) What is your monthly rent, including utilities?

77. (IF OWNS:) What is the present market value of your house?

78. How many rooms are there in your (house/apartment), not counting bathrooms?

79. FILL IN FOLLOWING AFTER INTERVIEW:

Type of dwelling:

Access:

Condition:

Type of street:

Is it public housing?

On what floor is the dwelling unit?

Type of household:

BSSR 382-12

Bureau of the Budget No. 116-614
Approval Expires June 30, 1966

D. C. RESIDENT SURVEY

INCIDENT FORM

Case No. _____

Incident No. _____

I. Stimulus Eliciting Report (FILL IN ALL RELEVANT INFORMATION)

A. In response to question_____; crime card no._____

B. Reported as:

1 ☐ 1965-66, respondent

2 ☐ 1965-66, other household member

3 ☐ Worst, respondent

4 ☐ Worst, other household member

II. Victim Identification (CHECK ONE OF THREE AND COMPLETE OTHER CLASSIFICATION)

A. ☐ Respondent Victim
- ☐ While residing in this household (IF WORST EVER, COMPLETE GREEN FORM)
- ☐ While residing in other household (COMPLETE GREEN FORM LATER--REMINDER SUPPLIED)

B. ☐ Total Household was victimized
- ☐ While victim member of this household (IF WORST EVER, COMPLETE PINK FORM)
- ☐ While victim member of other household (COMPLETE PINK FORM LATER--REMINDER SUPPLIED)

C. ☐ Other Household Member(s) Victim(s)
- ☐ While residing in this household (IF WORST EVER, COMPLETE GREEN FORM)
- ☐ While residing in other household (COMPLETE GREEN FORM LATER--REMINDER SUPPLIED)

III. Description of Victimization or Incident: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Date Incident Occurred: _____ Time of Day Incident Occurred: ☐ AM ☐ PM
(Day) (Month) (Year)

IV. Offense (CHECK AT LEAST ONE--MORE IF OFFENSE INVOLVES MULTIPLE CRIME CATEGORIES)

		Actual	Attempt	Threat
A. Burglary, breaking and entering	(Somebody broke in or attempted to break in)	1☐	2☐	3☐

Mode of Entry or Attempt

1. ☐ Door forced
2. ☐ Window pried or broken
3. ☐ Master or pass key
4. ☐ Other_____
5. ☐ Don't know

B. Something stolen from premises (not a break-in)	(Home, garage, shed, store, locker, safe, office)	1☐	2☐	3☐
C. Robbery	(Hold-up, stick-up, mugging, yoking, strong-arm robbery)	1☐	2☐	3☐
D. Theft	(Things stolen by means other than above but not auto)	1☐	2☐	3☐
Auto theft	(Auto theft)	1☐	2☐	3☐
E. Vandalism or arson	(Malicious damage)	1☐	2☐	3☐
F. Assault	(Injury, attempt or threat to do physical harm)	1☐	2☐	3☐
G. Auto offenses	(Injury or damage done through use of auto)	1☐	2☐	3☐
H. Sex offenses	(Peeping, indecent exposure, rape or attempt, anything sexual to children)	1☐	2☐	3☐
I. Threats	(Blackmail, phone calls, false evidence, selling "protection")	1☐	2☐	3☐
J. Frauds, Forgeries, Swindles	(Bad checks, counterfeit, forgery, impersonation, con game, false claims for goods sold, selling things no right to sell, embezzling)	1☐	2☐	3☐
K. Other Offenses	(False testimony in court, false accusation, illegal action by official, prowler, kidnapping) (SPECIFY)_____	1☐	2☐	3☐

V. Victims and Personal Injury

A. Who were the victims?

(AT TIME OF INTERVIEW) Relationship to Head	Hshld. Code	(AT TIME OF VICTIMIZATION) Sex	Age	Injuries: Injury Code	Injuries: Harm Code	Threats: Intimidation Code

HOUSEHOLD CODE: H-Member of household now; N-Not member of household now

B. Was anyone injured? (FILL IN INJURY CODE FOR EACH PERSON LISTED ABOVE.)

Injury Code
- N - None
- M - Minor
- TR - Treated and released
- H - Hospitalized
- D - Death

C. (IF ANY INJURIES REPORTED) How were (VICTIMS) injured? (FILL IN HARM CODE FOR EACH PERSON LISTED ABOVE.)

Harm Code
- N - None
- G - Gun
- K - Knife
- B - Blunt instrument
- P - Physical force
- S - Incident precipitated self injury, or victim-caused injury to other victim

D. Was anyone threatened in any way? (IF YES:) How? (FILL IN INTIMIDATION CODE FOR EACH PERSON LISTED ABOVE.)

Intimidation Code
- N - None
- G - Gun
- K - Knife
- B - Blunt instrument
- P - Physical force
- V - Verbal

VI. Property Loss or Damage or Attempt or Threat to Inflict Loss or Damage

A. Was any property taken or damaged? IF NO: Was there any attempt or threat to take or destroy anything?

1 ☐ Offense not directed in any way to belongings (SKIP TO Q. VII)

2 ☐ Yes (ASK:) What property was taken (damaged)? (OR ASK ABOUT ATTEMPT OR THREAT TO TAKE OR DAMAGE)

For Larcenous Offenses:		Approximate Value of Items
1 ☐	Currency	1
2 ☐	Clothing	2
3 ☐	Household goods	3
4 ☐	Automobile	4
5 ☐	Auto parts, accessories	5
6 ☐	Jewelry	6
7 ☐	Bicycle or toys	7
8 ☐	Negotiable instruments, credit cards	8
9 ☐	Other (SPECIFY)_____	9
	Total Value	$

Non-Larceny Damages (Vandalism, Arson, B&E)		Approximate Value of Items
1 ☐	Windows broken (residence)	1
2 ☐	Other residential property	2
3 ☐	Automobile	3
4 ☐	Other (SPECIFY)_____	4
	Total Value	$

VI. (Continued)

B1. How did (offender) go about it?

- ☐ Violence
- ☐ Forcible entry
- ☐ Threat
- ☐ Fraud
- ☐ Stealth
- ☐ Other false claim (DESCRIBE)_____
- ☐ Other (DESCRIBE)_____

B2. (IF NO ACTUAL LOSS OCCURRED, SKIP TO VII)
Did (VICTIM) get any of the property back that (he/she/they) lost?

		Through Police Action	(SPECIFY) Other
1 ☐	Did not--no indication of recovery		
2 ☐	Did (ASK ABOUT EXTENT AND TIME)		
1 ☐	Total recovery within 48 hours	☐	_____
2 ☐	Total recovery after 48 hours	☐	_____
3 ☐	Partial recovery (SPECIFY)_____	☐	_____

B3. _____
Did anyone give (VICTIM) any money or repay you in any way for the loss?

- ☐ None
- ☐ Offender made good in way other than return of property
- ☐ Court awarded civil damages which paid for the loss
- ☐ Insurance covered the loss
- ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____

(IF YES:) Did that cover the loss in full or only in part?

- ☐ Full
- ☐ Part--About how much of it was paid for? _____(PROPORTION)

VII. Location of Offense

A. (PROBE FOR LOCATION OF PLACE:) Where did this happen?

- ☐ District of Columbia _____ (SPECIFY CLOSEST ADDRESS POSSIBLE)
- ☐ Metropolitan Washington outside the District
- ☐ Other metropolitan location in continental U. S. (including suburbs)
- ☐ Other smaller cities (10,000 population or over)
- ☐ Small town or rural location (under 10,000, not suburb)

B. (PROBE TO DETERMINE RELATION TO VICTIM'S RESIDENCE)

- ☐ At home
- ☐ Own block
- ☐ Own neighborhood
- ☐ At work, outside of neighborhood of home
- ☐ Other; outside neighborhood, but in city of residence or suburbs
- ☐ While out of town
- ☐ Mixed (SPECIFY)_____

C. (PROBE TO DETERMINE TYPE OF PLACE)

Public Place

- ☐ Street
- ☐ School
- ☐ Park, field, playground
- ☐ Public conveyance or station
- ☐ Retail establishment, bank
- ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____
  _____
  _____

Private Place

- ☐ Residence, etc. premises
- ☐ Office
- ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____
  _____
  _____

VIII. Reporting to Police: Did the offense become known to the police?

☐ Yes (ASK A) ☐ No (ASK B)

A. (YES:) How did the police first learn about it?

Reported by:	Phone	Personally at Police Station
Victim.	☐	☐
Witness	☐	☐
Offender.	☐	☐

Observed directly by police ☐

Other (SPECIFY)_____

B. (No:) Why wasn't it reported? (CHECK ALL RELEVANT. CIRCLE MOST IMPORTANT.)

Weighed other consequences to come from reporting

1 ☐ Reprisal

2 ☐ Time lost from work, spent in Court

3 ☐ I was in a hurry and couldn't take time to report

4 ☐ Thought harm would come to offender--punishment of offender is not the thing that would help

5 ☐ Fear of trouble or embarrassment to self from police

6 ☐ Didn't want to get involved (PROBE)

Normative

1 ☐ Think private retribution or restitution is better

2 ☐ Repute (avoid reputation of informer, cop-lover, etc.)

3 ☐ Ratting (self-observed code against)

Useless

1 ☐ Police wouldn't want to be bothered, would just ignore report

2 ☐ Nothing anyone could do; too late to help

3 ☐ Police already knew or I supposed they did

4 ☐ Offender has political protection or other immunity; authority system sanctions offense

Uncertainty

1 ☐ Not sure what was going on

2 ☐ Wouldn't know how to report it

Other (SPECIFY)_____

(IF CRIME NOT REPORTED TO POLICE, SKIP TO Q. X)

IX. Police Action (ASK ONLY IF INCIDENT REPORTED TO POLICE)

A. What did the police do? (PROBES:) Did the police follow it up later in any way?

1 ☐ Nothing of which respondent is aware

2 ☐ Yes (ASK:) What did they do?

	At Scene	After
1 ☐ Restored order	1 ☐	1 ☐
2 ☐ Warned offender	2 ☐	2 ☐
3 ☐ Advised victim about protection	3 ☐	3 ☐
4 ☐ Promised surveillance	4 ☐	4 ☐
5 ☐ Otherwise punished offender short of arrest	5 ☐	5 ☐
6 ☐ Arrested offender or suspect (took them to station house)	6 ☐	6 ☐
7 ☐ Investigation	7 ☐	7 ☐
8 ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____	8 ☐	8 ☐
9 ☐ Don't know	9 ☐	9 ☐

B. Would you say (VICTIM) was satisfied or dissatisfied with what the police did?

1 ☐ Satisfied

2 ☐ No judgment or mixed (SPECIFY)_____

3 ☐ Dissatisfied (ASK:) Why?

1 ☐ Not thorough

2 ☐ Ignored, dismissed

3 ☐ Other reason for dissatisfaction (SPECIFY)_____

IX. (Continued)

C. How would you sum up (VICTIM'S) personal reaction to dealing with the police in this case?

1 ☐ Unpleasant to victim

2 ☐ Time and nuisance to victim

3 ☐ Victim in trouble with authorities

4 ☐ Neutral

5 ☐ Pleased

6 ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____

_____

_____

_____

7 ☐ Don't know

X. Contributory Behavior of Victim

Is there anything you can think of now that (VICTIM) might have done which might have prevented its taking place--or could you have done anything to avoid it?

1 ☐ None

2 ☐ Acknowledged negligence

3 ☐ Dispute, provocation

4 ☐ Confidence

5 ☐ Drunk

6 ☐ Illegal act

7 ☐ Lovers' quarrel (triangle, domestic)

8 ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____

_____

_____

9 ☐ Mutual victimization

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XI. Knowledge of Offender(s)

A. Does (VICTIM) know who it was who did that, or were there any suspects?

1 ☐ Absolutely no idea who offenders were (SKIP TO BOTTOM OF LAST PAGE OF THIS FORM FOR INSTRUCTIONS)

2 ☐ Offenders definitely identified (CHECK BELOW)

3 ☐ Suspects only (CHECK BELOW)

4 ☐ Saw or heard offenders but don't know who they were

1 ☐ Evidence indicates only one offender

2 ☐ Evidence indicates more than one offender

3 ☐ Uncertain (SPECIFY)_____

_____

B. Anyone (VICTIM) knew personally? (PROBE)

1 ☐ Immediate family member (SPECIFY)_____

2 ☐ Relative (SPECIFY)_____

3 ☐ Friend

4 ☐ Neighbor

5 ☐ Acquaintance or other known to victim previously

6 ☐ Business relationship, offender a client

7 ☐ Business relationship, offender a vendor, delivery boy, etc.

8 ☐ Stranger

9 ☐ Unknown

XI. Knowledge of Offenders (Continued)

C. Race of offenders

What was (his/her/their) race?

- ☐ All Negro
- ☐ All White
- ☐ All other non-White
- ☐ Mixed, White and Negro
- ☐ Mixed, other (SPECIFY)_____
- ☐ Unknown

D. Age of offenders

(IF ONE OFFENDER:) How old do you think the (OFFENDER) was?

(IF MORE THAN ONE:) How old was the youngest? (THEN) And how old was the oldest?

"Only One" or Youngest of "More Than One"		If "More Than One," Oldest
☐	Child (under 10)	☐
☐	Juvenile (10-17)	☐
☐	Young adult (18-22)	☐
☐	Adult (over 22)	☐
☐	Unknown	☐

E. Sex of offender(s)

- ☐ All male
- ☐ All female
- ☐ Male and female
- ☐ Unknown

F. Residence of offender(s): Do you know where the (OFFENDER) lived?

- ☐ Definitely Washington
- ☐ Definitely outside Washington
- ☐ Not sure or unknown

XII. Current Status (Continued)

C. (ASK ONLY IF SOMEONE PRESSED CHARGES AND OFFENDERS OR SUSPECTS KNOWN)

What finally happened to whoever did that--or whoever was suspected of doing it?

- ☐ Charged and arrested but later released
- ☐ Arrested, awaiting trial
- ☐ Referred to juvenile authorities
- ☐ Tried and acquitted or dismissed
- ☐ Tried on a different charge
- ☐ Sentenced and appealing
- ☐ Sentenced but suspended
- ☐ Jailed and imprisoned or executed
- ☐ Jailed and imprisoned but paroled
- ☐ Served sentence and released at expiration of term
- ☐ Fined
- ☐ Other (SPECIFY)_____
- ☐ Don't know

D. How do you personally feel about it now? Would you say (VICTIMS) are satisfied, dissatisfied or that (VICTIMS) don't have any feeling at all about what was done about this offense?

- ☐ Satisfied
- ☐ Dissatisfied
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Neutral

NOW LOOK BACK AT THE FIRST PAGE OF THIS FORM. IF THIS INCIDENT IS A "WORST EVER" INCIDENT FOR ANY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION OR IF THE CHECK YOU MADE UNDER Q. 11 INDICATES A DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLD FROM THAT AT WHICH YOU ARE INTERVIEWING YOU MUST FILL OUT ANOTHER SHORT FORM.

COMPLETE A PINK FORM FOR ANY "TOTAL HOUSEHOLD" VICTIMIZATION.

COMPLETE ONE GREEN FORM FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL VICTIMIZED.

Household Victimization

_____
ID #

_____
Offense #

A. Age and Sex (ENTER NUMBER IN EACH CATEGORY AT TIME OF VICTIMIZATION)

Male		Female
_____	Children (under 10)	_____
_____	Juveniles (10-17)	_____
_____	Young Adults (18-22)	_____
_____	Adults (over 22)	_____

B. Data on Head of Household (AT TIME OF VICTIMIZATION)

Occupation:_____

Age:_____ Sex:_____

Place of residence:

1 ☐ Washington, D. C.

2 ☐ Washington metropolitan area

3 ☐ Other city (SPECIFY)_____

4 ☐ Outside continental U. S.

Marital status:

1 ☐ Married

2 ☐ Widowed

3 ☐ Divorced

4 ☐ Separated

5 ☐ Never married

Education of head: (CIRCLE HIGHEST LEVEL)

K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

Bus/tech 1 2 3 4 or more

Individual(s) Victimization

COMPLETE A SEPARATE GREEN SHEET
FOR EACH HOUSEHOLD VICTIM INVOLVED.

_____
ID #

_____
Offense #

A. Type of Offense: 1☐ Single victim

2☐ Multiple victim

B. General Data on Victim (AT TIME OF VICTIMIZATION)

Occupation:_____

Age:_____ Sex:_____

Place of residence:

1☐ Washington, D. C.

2☐ Washington metropolitan area

3☐ Other city (SPECIFY)_____

4☐ Outside continental U. S.

Marital status:

1☐ Married

2☐ Widowed

3☐ Divorced

4☐ Separated

5☐ Never married

Education: (CIRCLE HIGHEST LEVEL)

K 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

College 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

Bus/tech 1 2 3 4 or more

CARD A

BURGLARY--BREAKING AND ENTRY

1. Someone breaking into your home? (Or garage, shed, store office?)

2. Trying to break in?

3. Have you ever found:

   (a) a door jimmied?

   (b) a lock forced?

   (c) a window forced open?

4. Has something been taken or stolen from your home? (Or from a garage, shed, store, or office?)

5. Has anyone tried to steal anything of yours from a locker or safe?

CARD 3

ROBBERY

1. Something taken directly from you by force or by threatening to harm you?

2. Hold up/stick up?

3. Mugging or yoking?

4. Strong-arm robbery?

5. Money or bicycles taken by force?

6. Violent purse snatching?

7. Any attempts to rob you by force?

CARD C

THEFT-STEALING

ANYTHING ELSE STOLEN:

1. Car stolen?

2. Things stolen from car?

3. Hub caps, tires, battery taken from car?

4. Bicycle stolen?

5. Purse snatched, things taken from purse?

6. Pocket picked?

7. Coat or hat stolen in restaurant or bar?

8. Things stolen from you while on bus, train, boat or plane? In a station?

9. Luggage stolen?

10. Things taken from mail-box?

11. Any attempts to steal anything?

CARD D

VANDALISM OR ARSON

THINGS PURPOSELY DAMAGED OR SET FIRE TO:

1. Window broken maliciously?

2. Property broken or damaged deliberately?

3. Fire deliberately set?

4. Car damaged maliciously--antenna broken, lights broken, tires slashed, paint scratched?

5. Walls marked, fences or other property on premises damaged?

6. Teenagers or children bothering you by mischief?

CARD E

ASSAULT

1. Beaten up?

2. Attacked with a weapon (club, knife, gun, hammer, bottle, chair)?

3. Stones or other dangerous objects thrown at you?

4. Hit or kicked?

5. Fight picked with you?

6. Any attempts or threats to assault you or beat you up?

CARD F

SERIOUS AUTO OFFENSES

1. Hit and run accident?

2. Trying to force you off the road or into an accident?

3. Deliberately driving a car at you?

4. Someone failing to identify himself after damaging or running into your car?

CARD G

SEX OFFENSES

1. Someone peeping in your windows?

2. Indecent exposure in front of you?

3. Rape or attempted rape?

4. Molested or sexually abused?

CARD H

THREATS

1. Blackmail?

2. Threatening or obscene or insulting letters or telephone calls?

3. Someone demanding money with threat to harm you if you don't pay?

4. Someone demanding anything else with threats?

5. Someone threatening to make a false report about you to the police or to your employer or someone else?

6. Someone selling "protection"?

CARD I

FRAUDS, FORGERIES, SWINDLES

1. Passing worthless check, counterfeit money?

2. Someone forging your name to something?

3. Someone pretending to be somebody else to get you to give something or do something?

4. Being cheated by a confidence game? A swindle?

5. Selling you worthless things by making false claims about them?

6. Selling you something stolen or something they had no right to sell?

7. Embezzling: misusing money you trusted someone with?

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CARD J

OTHER CRIMES

1. False testimony against you in court?

2. False accusation to police?

3. Illegal action by police or other officials?

4. Kidnapping?

5. Prowler?

6. Defamation of character or slander--someone trying to ruin your reputation?

7. ANYTHING ELSE?

APPENDIX E

FRONT-PAGE CRIME STORIES DURING PERIOD OF STUDY

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FRONT-PAGE CRIME STORIES DURING PERIOD OF STUDY

The following lists chronologically news items that appeared on the front page of the Washington Post during the weeks that the interviewing was in progress. Items in parentheses deal with events occurring outside of the Washington metropolitan area.

April 7: Lack of police will require closing the Capitol building earlier (6 p.m. vs 10 p.m.).

April 8: Informer Barnes claims "double-cross" by government when he is arrested for jewel theft.

April 9: Job Corps counselor found stabbed to death in N.E. motel.

April 10: Police shot a suspected armed robber.

April 12: Riot at Glen Echo.

April 13: Glen Echo trouble was expected.

April 14: Artist arrested for killing of job corpsman (April 9).

April 17: D.C. Crime Commission to suggest improvements in courts and police.

April 18: Negro teenager mugs woman, takes mink stole.

April 19: D.C. buses kept away from Glen Echo during riot.

April 20: Montgomery County will investigate Glen Echo riot.

April 21: Barnes (April 8) tells of bribing policeman.

April 23: Five policemen indicted on bribery charges (see Barnes).

April 24: ("Gangland" killing in San Francisco--labor leader murdered.)

April 25: Scuffle in alley becomes a tense incident (police and Negroes in 13th Precinct). Brutality charges, etc.

April 26: Italian embassy butler shot by burglars.
NAACP complains about police brutality.

April 27: Shootings indicate gun problem in D.C. (feature).

May 3: U.S. attorney accused of condoning police misconduct.

May 4: 16 policemen indicted for bribery (see April 23).

May 5: Glen Echo riot blamed on everybody.

May 6: (Klansman in Lemuel Penn case shoots wife.)
(FBI catch "most wanted" man.)

May 7: Woman accused of killing her children confesses.
Use of drugs at Western High School investigated.

May 8: University of Maryland student kills girl, self.
Woman jailed for false rape charge.

May 10: Two dozen detectives hunt killer of Bethesda boy.
Restrictions on Glen Echo suggested.

May 11: Woman found sane, convicted (May 7).

May 13: Article on crank telephone callers.

May 15: Article about plight of poor in confronting bail bondsmen.

May 17: Woman on trial for poisoning husband.
Four people request closing of Glen Echo.

May 18: (Bradnik case--Pennsylvania--FBI agent killed.)
Woman found innocent of homicide (see May 17).

May 19: (Bradnik kidnapper shot dead--see May 17).

May 20: (Violence in Watts.)
Citizen group demands hearings on police misconduct cases.

May 21: Rare stamp collection stolen.

May 22: (Jury in Watts to find cause of outbreak.)

May 26: Man sought for 6 killings in Virginia.

May 27: More on killer of 6.

May 29: (Man stabs 2, seizes girl in Canada.)

May 30: Two brothers arrested for 6 murders (May 26).

June 3: D.C. will offer free legal aid to indigents.

June 7: (Meredith shot on march.)

June 8: (Shooting causes new demand for Rights Bill.)
Ex-policeman arrested for hold-up (suburbs).

June 10: Family terrorized, but extortion plan fails.

June 11: Bystander shot in hold-up.

June 12: Negro arrested with $20,000 in heroin.

June 13: Two women robbed in N.W.
Rights march in D.C.
(Chicago Puerto Ricans burn police car.)

June 14: Supreme Court makes confession ruling.

June 16: White gangs fight in Arlington.
(Government will pay lawyers for poor.)

June 18: Gang members arrested (see June 16).

June 19: Wiretapping article.

June 20: FBI and wiretapping (feature).

June 21: Supreme Court allows preruling confessions, also forced blood sampling.

June 22: (Marchers and whites fight in Philadelphia.)
Convict gets new hearing in Virginia holdup case.

June 23: Virginia convict (June 22) freed when policeman confesses.

June 26: "Police considered enemies of society." (Feature.)

June 27: "Negro patience with police at end." (Feature.)
Police try to reevaluate relations with poor.

June 28: Police voted raise. New police training planned.

June 29: Senator's car shot at.
(FBI agent admits phone bugging.)

June 30: (Nevada governor demands prosecution of FBI agents.)
(See June 29.)

July 1: Article on race hatred as police problem.

July 5: Woman shot to death in N.E. market.

July 8: Delicatessen manager kills bandit.

July 9: 1,000 inmates riot in Maryland prison.
(Two klansmen convicted, four freed in Penn case.)

July 10: Crime Commission will recommend reducing number of D.C. police precincts.

July 14: (Shootings and arson in new Chicago violence.)

July 15: (8 nurses killed in Chicago.)
(Negro snipers and police trade shots in Chicago.)
Prisoner on assault charge claims mistreatment.

APPENDIX F

SERIOUSNESS SCORES

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SERIOUSNESS SCORES

The seriousness scoring system for the present study was that developed by Wolfgang and Sellin in their recent study of juvenile delinquency in Philadelphia. The weights which were assigned to elements of the criminal incidents as described by our respondents are those given by Wolfgang and Sellin, pp. 401-412.

Most of the 19 per cent of the incidents to which the scoring system could not be applied involved attempts or presumed attempts to commit a crime and incidents of a nature not handled by Wolfgang and Sellin, such as peeping, false arrest, false testimony, or obscene telephone calls. In a few instances, information was lacking in the report on such items essential to the scoring procedure as value of the property stolen or damaged, the extent of the injury, or, in two cases, information insufficient to class as between assault or armed robbery.

Although actual values were computed following the Wolfgang method, tables in this report always use a collapsed version of the scores in which the smaller frequency, higher scores are collapsed, as follows:

BSSR Collapsed Scale Value	Wolfgang-Sellin Equivalent
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5-6
6	7-9
7	10 or more

The nature of incidents that fall at various levels of score (BSSR Class intervals) can be indicated by the following capsule descriptions of incidents drawn from our cases:

INCIDENTS ILLUSTRATING BSSR SERIOUSNESS SCORES

BSSR Score	Case I. D. Numbers	Sample Incidents:	Value/Injury
1	0074 I-1	Change carrier stolen from car.	$1.00
	4036 I-2	Aunt was on bus and when she got off she found that her wallet was missing.	$4.00
	4022 I-1	Antenna broken off R's husband's car while parked in front of his store.	$8.00-$9.00
2	0155 I-1	A fellow slapped me. He slapped me with his hand.	None
	6154 I-1	Automobile stolen from in front of house. Car was missed the next morning.	(Recovered-no damage)
	01102 I-2	Coming home on bus and got billfold snatched from purse.	$80.00
3	0083 I-1	Someone broke a lower window and entered house and this was one of the few days we kept any money in the house.	$92.00 plus $8.00 damage
	6188 I-1	R. came back from hospital, opened basement door, horrible order, filthy. Someone had been living there. (Clothing missing-household items damaged.)	$150.00 plus $5.00 damage
4	4128 I-3	At work someone approached me and asked me to be his woman. I slammed the iron and he drew a gun.	None
	6102 I-1	Gang of boys took son's paper money away from him as he collected his route. He was threatened with physical violence.	$53.00
5	6102 I-2	R. was driving cab and passenger pulled gun and demanded and got all his money. Shot into car seat.	$24.00 plus $5.00 damage to car from shot.

INCIDENTS ILLUSTRATING BSSR SERIOUSNESS SCORES--Continued

BSSR Score	Case I. D. Numbers	Sample Incidents:	Value/Injury
5	0015-1 I-1	Walking and somebody with knife grabbed R. from behind and took his money.	$2.00
6	0123 I-1	I was coming home from night club and 2 fellows stopped me with a gun. They took my wallet and then knocked me out with the gun.	$95.00/minor
	4053-3 I-1	Beat up by a passenger and robbed of $4.50 one night after midnight.	$4.50/hospitalized
7	0228-2 I-2	Friend and I got beat up. A couple of guys jumped out of car and wanted to fight. They followed us--we tried to call cops. They then beat us up again.	Treated and released and some damage to clothing

APPENDIX G

REPORT ON A DESIGN FOR A NATIONAL STUDY

BUREAU OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, INC.
1200 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

BSSR PROJECT NO. 382
Contract: LEA 66-2, Jan. 28, 1966
Report No. 2
Date: April 28, 1966
Project Title: A Pilot Study of Public Survey Approaches to Crime Phenomena
Principal Investigator: A. D. Biderman

Report Title: REPORT ON DESIGN FOR A NATIONAL STUDY

Summary: This report outlines developments which have affected the role the Bureau of Social Science Research pilot study plays in a planned national study of victimization. Some recommendations for the design of a national study are tentatively made on the basis of pretest and initial study interviewing in the Washington pilot study.

Developments Since Preparation of the Study Proposal

Since the development of the original proposal for the project, several decisions regarding the study program of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice have affected the directions of the work being undertaken by BSSR, as this work pertains to a prospective national survey. In addition, the pretest experience has provided some indications of possible problems in the national study. Modifications of the planned approach of the BSSR study have been suggested by these developments.

Two major changes in our planning derive from decisions made by the staff of the Commission:

1. the decision to use a private survey research contractor rather than the Bureau of the Census to conduct the national study.

2. the decision to have the BSSR Washington precinct surveys replicated in two other cities by the University of Michigan and to coordinate the survey work of BSSR in Washington with other observations to be undertaken by the University of Michigan.

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Implications of Substituting
Private Contractor for Census

After a series of consultations on the part of Dr. Ohlin and advisors to the Commission (in one of which BSSR participated), doubts developed as to whether the Bureau of Census would be able to complete the collection and tabulation of data for a national study quickly enough to meet the Commission's deadline. It was agreed that a contract with a private group would probably have greater promise of providing timely results, although with sacrifice of the large number of cases that could be handled economically through the resources of the Census. A trial effort to estimate the amount of victimization reported in a cross-sectional survey in the fall of 1965 by the National Opinion Research Center was reported to the Commission. It gave additional encouragement to the feasibility of approaching the problem with a smaller sample, i.e., 10,000 to 15,000 households. The Commission staff decided in March to substitute a nongovernmental contractor for the Census Bureau for the collection of national data. Accordingly, BSSR abandoned its efforts to develop and test procedures specifically adaptable to the routines of Census Bureau sample surveys. Instead, coordination was established with the prospective contractor for the national study, the National Opinion Research Center. Among the implications of this change are the following:

1. A smaller number of households will be in the sample--10,000-15,000 cases.--A major reason for considering using the resources of the Census is that the need for a large number of cases in the sample could be realized most economically this way. The current population

survey of the Census, for example, would yield over 30,000 households for analysis. The costs of commercial organizations are much greater and their national cross-sectional samples usually much smaller. To provide a sufficient number of cases for analysis with a smaller size sample, given the current "guesstimates" of the actual prevalence of victimization, three courses of action are available. First, data may be developed on all members of a household from a single respondent in that household. This device contributes more to increasing the number of victims than to the number of incidents of victimization (crimes) covered by the survey. This is because all or several members of the same household are frequently victims of the same crime. In certain instances, such as burglaries, auto thefts, and vandalism to residences, the entire household usually has to be regarded as victimized. Second, respondents can be asked to report on their experience over a long span of time. The longer the period, however, the greater the difficulty of recall. Third, more extensive procedures of questioning can be used to attempt to insure the most exhaustive reporting by each respondent. Each of these measures for off-setting the effects of small sample size raises questions that are discussed below.

2. More flexible interviewing procedures can be utilized.--Using a private contractor will afford various advantages for a first attempt to develop data on victims on a national scale, relative to using the regular routines of Census sample surveys. The contractor, presumably, will be able to operate with fewer constraints of question format, precoding, interview length, etc., than would be readily adaptable to a census device.

A national survey that is conducted exclusively or largely for the specific purpose would have advantages over a "piggy-back" initial screening for victimization as a minor part of a survey being conducted for other objectives.

3. The possibility of randomizing respondents.--When use of Census sample survey resources was being contemplated, a preliminary plan was considered that was adapted to the usual Census practice of using a probability sample of households, rather than a sample of persons.

There are usually disadvantages associated with using a sample of households in which data on all members of the household are developed from any one responsible informant whom the interviewer contacts in that household. There are special reasons to assume that there will be losses of data associated with this procedure in the case of a survey of victimization--although checks can be made on the nature and extent of these losses. Some of the pretest experience of the Washington study discussed below indicates that respondents report more of the incidents of which they themselves are victims than those of which other members of their households are victims. If for reasons of economical coverage of a large number of individuals it is necessary to accept any readily accessible adult as an informant both for himself and for the occurrence of victimization to some other member of the household, a check on the nature and extent of nonreporting can be made by direct follow-up interviewing of a sample of these other members. Given the small frequencies involved, this can serve in the case of many variables only as a check for the presence of distortion, rather than as a basis for making specific

corrections of the biases in the original data. These biases include more extensive enumeration of the kinds of crimes that affect persons more frequently contacted in the original sampling--e.g., housewives. A more satisfactory recourse, although a more expensive one, is to randomize the selection of respondents in households in the original survey. These respondents can be asked to report whether other members of the household have been victimized. This increases the number of incidents available for analysis--with "leave" questionnaires or follow-up interviews being carried out as necessary to develop needed details.

Coordination with University of Michigan Study

The second development affecting our plans has been the decision to closely coordinate the BSSR Washington study with studies being performed for the Commission by the University of Michigan in Washington and two other cities. Several reorientations of the BSSR study were indicated. It is advisable that sampling, interviewing and basic analytic procedures be as similar as possible in the parallel work in the three cities. BSSR has substituted a nonclustered sample of adults drawn by the University of Michigan for the clustered sample of households BSSR originally contemplated using. This substitution affords various gains of validity, but requires greater time and money expenditures for carrying out the interviewing, particularly an intensive follow-up effort to insure maximum contact with the individually designated informants. It also reduces the importance of developing data from household informants regarding other members of their household. The objective of making the BSSR work maximally useful to the University of Michigan studies

requires relatively earlier and greater emphasis on data collection by personal interviews relative to the explorations of mail and telephone methods that we originally proposed to explore. The latter were to be evaluated for their usefulness in national surveys of victimization. The role of the BSSR work in the multicity project also adds to the immediate usefulness of the substantive objectives of the work in Washington--including that on police-community relations--relative to the methodological developmental objectives set forth in the original proposal.

General Implications for Role of BSSR Study

In general, then, the changes discussed alter the bases which the Washington study provides for recommendations regarding a national study--lessening the contributions we can make of testing specifically adaptable tools and procedures, but retaining the contribution of knowledge regarding certain of the central problems involved in such a study.

Results of Initial Field Experience

The experimentation with various types of questions and methods in the field work thus far conducted by the BSSR pilot study has yielded several conclusions having implications for a national study. These have been incorporated in the instrument currently being used in Washington.

The comments below are based on experience in training interviews, 96 pretest interviews and analysis of a varying number of interviews of the sample proper as these became available during preparation of this report. Training and pretest interviews were conducted in Washington precincts other than the three that are being used in the study proper.

The distribution of respondents in these early interviews is about 85 per cent Negro and one per cent other nonwhite. Approximately 60 per cent of the Negro respondents and 55 per cent of whites were female. In addition, about 40 telephone screening interviews were carried out.

The following are the general findings from this work that we regard as most instructive with regard to the conduct of research on victimization.

1. The large volume of victimization reported.--Most respondents, report that they, their entire household, or some other member of their household has been victimized at some time. Over two-thirds of all of the interviews we have completed to date yielded at least one report of victimization to a member of the household in response to several types of questions about victimization employed. Only about 15 per cent of the respondents reported more than one instance, however.

2. Respondents tend to report recent incidents.--In most of our early household interviewing, we attempted to counteract the recency effects in incident reporting which we had observed in telephone interviews. We attempted this by asking first about whether the respondent had ever been a victim of a crime or about what was the worst crime of which he had ever been a victim before asking about recent victimization (most recent and any victimization in 1965 or 1966). In the 38 pretest interviews in which this type of pattern was followed, 12 of the 29 incidents of victimization reported took place in 1965 or 1966. The procedure did not yield a higher proportion of less recent incidents of victimization than did the pattern tested later in which we asked first about victimization in 1965-66 and then about the worst incident. (This procedure was adopted for the study proper.) It produced a greater

volume of incident reporting than the former, despite the elimination from the schedule of pre-1965 events, other than "the worst ever." While somewhat greater interviewer experience may have contributed to the increase in reporting, our impression is that it was primarily due to presenting the respondents with more focused recall tasks. Since only a very small number of incidents were reported in the early pretests which gave primacy to the "ever-type" questions that were not either 1965-66 cases or mentionable as the "worst" incident, the other questions directed toward pre-1965 events obviously could have yielded at best only a small increment of reporting. (See Table 1).

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF RECENT INCIDENTS OF VICTIMIZATION REPORTED BY TIME PERIOD--INITIAL STUDY SAMPLE RESPONDENTS AND IN TWO TYPES OF PRETEST INTERVIEWING

Time Period	Study Sample	Nonrandomized Pretest--Recent Questions First	Nonrandomized Pretest--Nonrecent Questions First	Total Respondents
	N=87	N=58	N=38	N=183
1966 (1st 100 days))	8	6	4	18
1965--4th Quarter	14	6	4	24
1965--3rd Quarter	7	7	5	19
1965--2nd Quarter	6	3	1	10
1965--1st Quarter	3	8	2	13
All recent Periods	38	30	16	84

Recency of incident was checked for 183 interviews, including all forms tested and both pretest and study sample cases. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

DATE OF LEAST RECENT VICTIMIZATION

Date of Victimization	Number of Incidents			
	Random Sample	Nonramdomized Pretests--Recent Questions First	Nonramdomized Pretests--Nonrecent Questions First	Total
1966	6	4	3	13
1965	13	13	8	34
1964	7	4	1	12
1963	4	2	2	8
1960-62	5	5	3	13
Prior to 1960	11	15	5	31
				111

If we consider only the least recent incidents of victimization reported by the respondent (in most cases, this is the incident given in response to questions about "the worst" case), 42 per cent of these occurred since January 1965. For this reason, it was decided to focus the final instrument on recent victimization, although the superlative item has been retained in the final instrument.

3. Respondents report few incidents occurring to other members of their household.--The bulk of the incidents reported involved the respondent himself as a victim, rather than other members of the household. Of 93 incidents reported by the first 129 respondents in the study

sample (randomized individuals within households), 84 per cent involved the respondent alone, or he along with the entire household was victimized, and in only 16 per cent was some other member of the household the victim. (See Table 3). This was the case even with the use of equivalent items

TABLE 3

"WORST" AND 1965-66 INCIDENTS BY WHETHER RESPONDENT, ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD OR OTHER MEMBER WAS THE VICTIM

Type of Incident	Number	
Respondent Victim:		
1965-66, not "worst ever"	19	
1965-66, "worst ever"	9	
Pre-1965 "worst ever"	20	
		48
Entire Household Victim:		
1965-66, not "worst ever"	10	
1965-66, "worst ever"	7	
Pre-1965 "worst ever"	13	
		30
Other Member of Household:		
1965-66, not "worst ever"	3	
1965-66, "worst ever"	7	
Pre-1965 "worst ever"	5	
		15
Total		93

for asking about victimization of other members as for the respondent personally. Question order, however, may partially account for this effect, since respondents are asked about things that happened to them before being asked about other household members. (See below on "motivational fatigue.") Where respondents do report on other members they usually can supply most of the detailed information sought by our instrument.

4. Fairly consequential incidents are reported.--Contrary to our expectations, trivial incidents did not predominate among those reported. This was true in the case of pretest interviews which included a probe asking about ". . . little things like kids breaking windows . . . The majority of the incidents reported in the pretests involved some financial loss to the victim. In the main, these losses were of appreciable value--rarely under $5 and predominantly $25 or more. The mean reported loss among the pretest cases in which some financial loss was involved was $160, the median was in the vicinity of $75, and the interval $100-200 was modal. A somewhat greater proportion of small losses was reported in the initial study sample. This may be due to the greater number of incidents per interview yielded by the final version of the questionnaire if our assumption is correct that superior interviewing procedure will yield more hard-to-remember relatively trivial accounts. Of 44 incidents in the study sample in which a dollar figure of loss was reported, the amount was $100 or more in 48 per cent of the cases. Despite an indicated prevalence of offenses considerably higher than that suggeste by police statistics for Washington the large majority of the offenses reported in these interviews are described as incidents known to the police (roughly two thirds). About 20 per cent of the incidents involved violence, 70 per cent were nonviolent property crimes, seven per cent were sex crimes and three per cent alleged offenses by police (e.g. false arrest).

Implications of Experience for the National Study

This experience may be interpreted as having the following implications for the national study.

A very high volume of reporting of incidents of crime can be expected--at least in big cities. This rate is nigh enough so that a smaller sample than originally contemplated may suffice. However, most respondents will remember and report only recent incidents in which they personally were victims. Randomizing informants seems extremely important. A very low rate of the reporting of more than one incident by a respondent also characterizes the data--lower than would be expected on pure probability assumptions that do not take account of the probable clustering of risks.

One may venture the following interpretations of the usual interviewing task as it affects reporting. Most incidents of victimization are not easily recalled. They are not extremely salient events relative to other life experiences. Forgetting these events also stems from the unpleasant and embarrassing aspects of the experience to the victim. Further, few of the incidents lead to a path of ensuing action that might serve to reinforce the ability to recall the event. The large majority of the kinds of events in question are happenings that would have been difficult to avoid--measures to prevent repetition of the same kind of incident would usually involve far greater cost and inconvenience to the victim than he feels the magnitude of the risk deserves. In very few of them is the offender ever known; hence there is no individual target on whom the victim can fix whatever affect the event may arouse. In most instances, there is nothing to do to gain either material or emotional idemnification for the loss.

The experience of the interviewing of members of the staff of the research organization and that of members of the project team is particularly instructive in this connection. In each case, incidents

not remembered at the time of the interview would be recalled by the individual hours, days and weeks after first attempting to report incidents of victimization.

If we consider the psychological situation of the typical respondent, we may assume that after being able to give the interviewer one incident of victimization, his desire to cooperate with the interviewer (and the Crime Commission) has been demonstrated and he is under less pressure to continue the difficult recall task. The nature of the effect is perhaps described by the term "motivational fatigue."

Largely on impressionistic and inferential bases, we reached the conclusion that exceptionally extensive and specific probing would increase greatly the recall of events. The instrument now being used is a set of 10 flash cards (see attachment) each dealing with a type of offense and in all involving approximately 70 discrete probes. These probes are grouped in a manner that is designed to facilitate respondent recall, rather than in terms of any conventional crime classifications.

In summary, we would make the following recommendations regarding the design of the national study:

1. Questions on victimization should be as narrowly focused and as specific as possible. The recall task given the respondent at any point in the interview should be focused with respect to time, person, and type of event.

2. Planning should be based on the assumption that victimization will be much more prevalent than has been suggested either by telephone screening or by extrapolations from official statistics.

3. A random probability sample of adults should be used, or a sample of households with randomized respondents within households.

4. Using a screening interview with a member of the household to identify other members of that household who were victims of crimes will probably be an unsatisfactory device from the standpoint of its exhaustiveness. It may be a better allocation of resources to concentrate on getting full reporting from the initial respondents of incidents in which they personally were involved.

5. The respondent initially should be asked about recent events--preferably events of the preceding half year. (If the national interviewing was to take place in June or July, it would be most convenient to have the respondent report victimizations during this calendar year or "since Christmas" as a ready time benchmark.)

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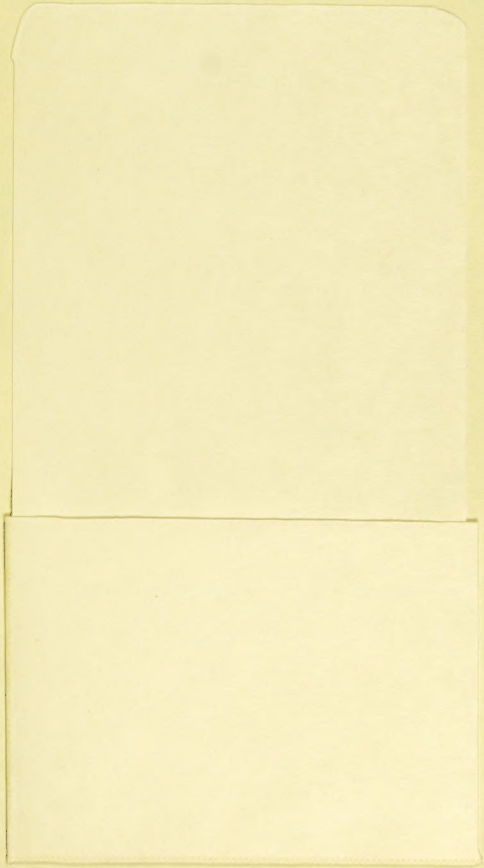

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